MUSLIM ADMINISTRATION IN ORISSA. (1568-1751 .A.D)

M. A. HAQUE.

PUNTHI PUSTAK
CALCUTTA • 1980

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ORISSAN STUDIES PROJECT No : 8

Muslim Administration in Orissa

(1568-1751 A.D.)

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DEDICATED

To

MY PARENTS

Late Kamar Ali Ahmad

&

Tahera Begum

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FOREWORD

Orissa, with her distinctive politico-cultural identity in the wider panorama of Indian life, is rich in historical wealth, but poor in historical literature because of inadequate attention she received from modern historians. Conquered late by the British and paid scant regard, she was not brought within the research orb of the nineteenth century Indo-British scholarship for the discovery of India's past, and consequently she missed the opportunity of coming to limelight like some other regions of the sub-continent. This deficiency is yet a challenge to modern researchers.

While the general history of Orissa in many respects remains very much less known, some notable periods of that history even remained in complete oblivion, and one such unknown chapter was the Muslim Rule in Orissa. There were no medieval chroniclers in the Court of Orissa to leave behind them the accounts of the administration of several rulers, and the famous historians of the time at the central court or the capital could not cover the politics of this remote Subah. In modern times, no competent scholars took up this subject obviously for the non-availability of the source material and more apparently for the lack of knowledge of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages. Till the publication of this monograph, therefore, the Muslim period of the Orissan history remained a desideratum.

Credit goes to Dr. M. A. Haque for his pioneering venture in bringing to light the political history of a significant era of a major region in the broader perspective of the medieval Indian history. His knowledge of the Islamic languages, together with his strenuous labour in locating, discovering and analysing the hitherto neglected or unknown material, enabled him to construct a thesis as a solid contribution to knowledge. Dr. Haque deserves the honour of being the first historian to write the history of the Muslim Administration of Orissa.

His thesis reveals a number of points, quite typical in character in accordance with the indigenous syndromes of Orissan life

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wherein the impact of Islam could percolate in a more harmonious manner to develop a healthier synthesis of Indo-Islamic Culture with socio-political implications of much durable values.

The work of Dr. Haque will meet the need of the researchers and advanced students most adequately in knowing a neglected aspect of the Orissan history.

2nd October, 1980

Dr. M. N. DAS
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PREFACE

The present treatise on "Muslim Administration in Orissa" has grown out of my thesis under the caption "Orissa Under The Muslim Rule : 1568-1751 A.D." which was approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History by the Utkal University in 1975.

It is a pleasure to record the debt I owe to my teacher Dr. M. N. Das, Senior Professor and Head of the Department of History, Utkal University for his scholarly guidance and encouragement. I am also gratetul to him for writing the foreword to this book. I take this opportunity to offer my deep gratitude to Dr. N. K. Sahu, Vice-Chancellor of Sambalpur University who has helped me with his valuable suggestions at the initial stage of this work. This work has also been enriched by the valuable suggestions kindly offered by Dr. B. C. Roy, Senior Professor and Head of the Department of History, Berhampur University, Professor Altaf Hussain, Head of the Department of History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, Sri K. N. Mohapatra, former Superintendent of Archæology, Orissa State Museum, and Sri S. N. Rajguru eminent Epigraphist of Orissa. I offer my gratitude to all these eminent scholars. I am highly indebted to all the scholars whose valuable works have been fully utilised in my work. My hearty thanks are also due to the Librarian, Orissa State Museum Library, Superintendent, Orissa Archives and Librarian, National Library, Calcutta and their staff, for the facilities they gave me in studying their records.

I am grateful to Mr. & Mrs. Shyamsundar Pattnaik of Orissa State Museum for the assistance and encouragement I have received from both of them for the completion of this work. Thanks are due so Sayeda Amatul Hayee, my wife whose never failing

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encouragement has always been a source of inspiration to me in all my humble literary activities.

Last but not least, I must express my sincere thanks to Sri S. K. Bhattacharya, Proprietor of Punthi Pustak, Calcutta for helping this work to see the light of day.

Bhubaneswar,
Idul-Azha, 1980

M A. HAQUE

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ain.	Ain-i-Akbari.
A. N.	Akbarnama.
A. R.	Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy.
Baharistan	Baharistan-i-Ghaybi.
Bib-Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica.
Briggs	History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India.
Catalogue	Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, compiled by N. Wright.
Lanepoole	Catalouge of coins in the British Museum, London : The Sultans of Delhi, compiled by S. Lonepoole.
E & D.	The History of India as Told by its own Historians.
Ed.	Editor.
ed.	edited.
edn.	edition.
E. I.	Epigraphica Indica.
Eng. trans.	English translation.
f. n.	foot note.
Gladwin	The History of Hindustan during the reigns of Jahangir, Saha Jahan and Aurangzeb.
I.A.	The Indian Antiquary.
I.H.R.C.	Proceedings of Indian Historical Record Commission.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.A.H.R.S.	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.

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J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History.
J.K.H.R.S	Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society.
J.O.R.	Journal of Oriental Research.
J & P A.S.B.	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
O.H.R.J.	Orissa Historical Research Journal.
P. 4	Page 4.
pp. 4 f.	Pages 4 and 5.
pp. 4 ff.	Page 4 and following pages.
P.I.H.C.	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
Riyaz.	Riyaz-us-Salatin.
Siyar.	Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.
S.I.I	South Indian Inscriptions.
T.A.	Tabaqat-i-Akbari.
Tuzuk.	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.
Vol.	Volume.

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INTRODUCTION

Orissa, more famous in the name of Kalinga and Utkal in ancient and medieval times, is acknowledged as one of the prominent regions in the Indian subcontinent with a distinct political and cultural heritage. Unfortunately, however, the history of Orissa has remained more or less oblivious in spite of her glorious past. The significance of the Asokan Inscriptions in the context of the epoch-making Kalinga War, or of the Hatigumpha Inscriptions in relation to the glories of the Chhedi Empire, or of the countless architectural edifices which are seen scattered all over Orissa in the back-ground of their respective times, stands diminished in the general darkness that pervades the whole range of ancient history. The numerous copper-plates of the medieval dynasties which provide us with glimpses into some remarkable periods speak too little of their authors and of their achievements. While the ancient times remained historically less known all over India, the medieval history of some regions came to be known to some extent because of the art of histriography practised by medieval Muslim chroniclers. Orissa, however, was the last kingdom to be conquered by the Muslims and no Muslim historian of the Mughal era cared to write any annals of Orissa's ancient and medieval history remained unknown for most parts.

The British also conquered Orissa a little late and the British conquest took place when Orissa's past glory had vanished for long. A large part of Orissa remained under several small princely dynasties. Situated in inaccessible regions, these feudatory states remained more or less beyond the pale of historical knowledge. Several districts of Orissa were kept under the administrative jurisdictions of Bengal, Bihar, Madras and Madhya Pradesh. For more than a century of the British rule of 'Orissa proper' meant as if only three districts, namely, Balasore, Cuttack, and Puri. That narrow coastal belt which to the British appeared as a land of no consequence except that it linked the Bengal and Madras presidencies, did not draw serious attention of any contemporary

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British historian. No European orientalist or historian tried to discover, assimilate or reproduce a systematic account of ancient Kalinga, medieval Utkal or modern Orissa. In fact, the British historians felt surprised to see the rich art treasures and numerous historical relics in Orissa, but seldom did they feel inspired to write a comprehensive history of the land.

While the general history of Orissa remained mostly neglected, one particular chapter of it remained completely untouched. It was the Muslim period of Orissan History. While medieval historians like Abul Fazl made only casual references to Orissa, no Muslim historian of the Afghan-Mughal period did anything to describe in detail the rules of the Muslim governors or emperors who ruled Orissa for nearly two centuries. During the British period scholars like A. Stirling[1], John Beams[2] and W. W. Hunter[3] made preliminary surveys of Orissa history, but their treatment was based on defective historical surmises, here-say accounts and even fictitious material. Of the Muslim period they had very little to say. Historians like R. D Banerji[4] who wrote a two volume study of Orissan history made only a rough sketch of the Muslim rule in Orissa. The scholars of Orissa who wrote valuable works in recent times about Orissa, paid greater attention to Orissa's ancient history because of the discovery as well as availability of numerous original source material. They also paid adequate attention to modern history because of easy access to archival sources. The Muslim period, however, received their scant

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1. Stirling, A., (a) *Orissa : Chronology and History*, Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, (1822).
   (b) *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa proper or Cuttack.* Asiatic Reserches, Vol. XV, (1824).
2. Beams, John. *Notes on the History of Orissa under the Muhammadan, Maratha and English Rule*, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LII (1883).
3. Hunter, W. W., *History of Orissa*, 2 Vols., London, 1872.
4. Banerji, R. D, *History of Orissa*, Vols. I & II, Calcutta, 1930-31.

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attention. Historians like Krupasindhu Mishra[5] and H. K. Mahtab[6] were full of appreciation of the political and cultural developments of the Muslim period, but they could not penetrate into Muslim source material because of their difficulties in understanding Persian, Arabic and Urdu documents. On the whole, thus, the Muslim period of Orissa history remained more or less an unexplored fields.

The object of this thesis has been to throw light on that forgotten period. The thesis covers a period from A.D. 1205 to 1751, that is, from the beginning of the Muslim invasion of Orissa to the end of the Muslim rule.

I ventured to take up the subject because of my knowledge of Urdu, Persian and Arabic and secondly, for the availability of the hitherto unexplored Muslim documents. In an attempt to bring historical data within my reach, I visited most of the places of historical importance as far as Muslim rule was concerned. Old centres of learning, mosques, shrines of the Muslim saints and some old families were visited for collection of necessary information.

The original sources[7] consulted to construct the thesis is included medieval Persian histories, accounts and memoirs, left by contemporary and near contemporary European travellers, contemporary literature in Oriya, Sanskrit and Bengali ; contemporary epigraphical records in Persian, Oriya and Sanskrit ; and Formans and Deeds of the Mughal Emperors and of the kings of Khurda.

Unfortunately, no Persian work of the Muslim period dealing entirely with Orissa has yet been discovered. But references to Orissa were traced in several contemporary Persian histories. A critical study of those references, supported by corroborative evidences from other sources, constructing connected accounts of the time. Accounts and memoirs of contemporary European travellers

5. Mishra, K., *Utkal Etihasa*, (Oriya), Cuttack, 1938.
6. Mahatab, H. K., *History of Orissa*, (Oriya), Cuttack, 1948.
7. A detailed description of the sources has been given in the bibliography.

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threw considerable light on the period concerned. My knowledge of Oriya language helped me to study the contemporary Oriya literature of the Muslim era. Diverse as those writings were, touching upon many aspects of Oriya life, incidentally enough they provided much historical information. The Temple Chronicle or Lord Jagannath famous as the Madla Panji, proved an important source material in as much as it corroborated severel statements of the contemporary Persian Chroniclers. An unpublished Oriya work entitled Kalijuga Purana of eighteenth century contained facts about the relation between Muhammad Taqi Khan, Naib-Nazim of Orissa and Raja Ramachandra Deva II of Khurda. Attempts were made to gather information regarding socio-cultural developments of the period from the religions literature of the time written by eminent poets and scholars, both in Oriya and Sanskrit.

Some notable persian inscriptions were located at several places of Orissa and were studied. The Vidyadharpur Bi-lingual Inscription revealed the liberal religious policy of the Muslim rulers. The Balu Bazar Jumma Masjid Inscription at Cuttack threw light on the work of Ekram Khan, the Governor of Orissa under Aurangzeb. The Shahi mosque Inscription at Jajpur contained information about Abu Nasar Khan, yet another Governor of Aurangzeb. Likewise, the inscriptions and Copper-plate records of the contemporary ruling chiefs of Orissa supplied with much corroborative evidences. The inscriptions of the Anantabasudeva Temple of Bhubaneswar helped corroborating the statements in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri regarding the fight between Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan of Bengal and the Kings of Orissa during A.D. 1243 to 1247. The Dharmalingeswar Inscription not only disapproves of the fact of any invasion of Orissa by Iliyas Shah of Bengal, but also throws new light on the relation existing between him and his Ganga contemporary, Narasimha Deva III. A stone inscription of Mukunda Deva Gajapati, found in the Bhimesvara Temple at Draksharam, contains description of Mukunda Deva's victory over the Sultan of Bengal. The Copper-plates of Narasimha IV record Bhanudeva II's war with a king named 'Gayasadhina', who has been identified with Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. From the copper plates of Bhanudeva III, issued in A.D. 1362, it seems that there are much uncritical

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observations in the accounts of the Muslim historians about the Orissan invasion of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq in A D. 1361.

A number of original Farmans and Deeds issued by the Mughal emperors are now preserved in the state Archives of Orissa at Bhubaneswar. All those documents have been studied for the purpose of this thesis. Some of those manuscripts are not important from historical point of view. But they throw some light on the revenue divisions of the Mughal Orissa. The Deeds and Grants of the Khurda kings, written in both Oriya and Persian, however, are very important from historical point of view. These documents have been recently published by Chakradhar Mohapatra in his book entitled "Utkal Etihasara Eka Angyata Adhyaya" and by Kedarnalh Mohapatra in his book entitled "Khurda Etihasa", both in Oriya. I have utilised them for my purpose. The most important in this series, are the documents on possession of Chakradhar Mohapatra, which throw new light on the circumstances under which Ramachandra Deva II, the king of Khurda became a Muslim and assumed the name of Hafeez Quader, while Murshid Quli Khan II was the Naib-Nazim of Orissa.

The first two chapters deal with the Muslim invasions during the Ganga and the Suryavansi dynasties and the final conquest of Orissa in 1568. The third chapter contains a detailed account of the Afghan-Mughal hostility for supremacy in Orissa during the reign of Akbar. Finally, the Afghans were subdued and Orissa came under the Mughal rule as a part of the Bengal subah.

In the fourth chapter, an account of Orissa under Jahangir has been given, when Orissa was separated from Bengal and was made a Mughal subah by itself. From the time of Jahangir, separate subahdars were appointed for Orissa.

The fifth and sixth chapters contain the history of Orissa under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The seventh chapter deals with the period when Orissa was ruled by the semi-independent Nazims of Bengal. From that time the subahdars were not appointed by the Mughal emperors. Rather Orissa was ruled by the Naib-Nazims of the Nazims of Bengal.

In the eighth chapter, an attempt has been made to narrate the administrative and revenue policies of the Muslim rulers in regard

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to Orissa. In the ninth Chapter, I have endeavoured to give a brief account of the impact of the Muslim culture on the socio-cultural, literary and religious life of the people of Orissa and of a process of cultural assimilation which worked silently through generation.

In the concluding chapter, the importance and significance of the period under review have been discussed.

Conscious of the limitations in exploring a new field, I have to make this humble confession that much scope will be there for future scholars to improve upon and elaborate this subject-thesis which is like a mere ground-work. Whatever has been done is only like the beginning of symetheng more to be done in time to come.

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Chapter One

MUSLIM INVASIONS DURING THE GANGA PERIOD

(A.D. 1078 to 1435)

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Cholas, who had established a great empire in the south, tried to extend their power over Orissa. But their invasions do not appear to have left any permanent mark. At the end of that century Orissa was effectively subdued by the Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara (the modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjam district). The rule of the Eastern Ganga monarchs continued till A.D. 1434. This dynasty included altogether fifteen kings. Among them the most powerful was Ananta Varma Chodaganga (A.D. 1078-1147). He defeated the king of Utkal and brought it under his rule. Ananta Varma brought the whole of Orissa under one political authority. He extended his dominions from the Godavari to the Ganges and built the famous Temple of Jagannath at Puri. It was during the rule of the Gangas that the Oriya language was born. From that time, too, there began to develop a new culture in Orissa with the cult of Jagannath as its sources of inspiration. When the capital of the Ganga dynasty was shifted from Kalinganagara to Cuttack, the name of Utkal or Odradesa came into greater prominence and the name of Kalinga gradually disappeared. In the inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries, the name Odradesa is found in use. In course of time the name 'Odisha' (Orissa) originated from Odradesa or Odadesa[1].

That was the time when the political condition in Northern India was undergoing great changes on account of Muslim invasion and conquests. When the invaders under Ikhtiyar-ud-din, the noted general of Muiz-ud-din Shihabuddin Muhammad bin Sam, moved towards the east and established himself at Lakhnauti near Gaur, the Palas and the Senas of Bengal and the Gangas of Orissa did not unite to confront the Muslim

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aggression. The result was that one by one they had to surrender to the Muslims.

When that was the condition, Raja Raja III (A.D. 1198-1211) ascended the Ganga throne. With his accession a new era began in the history of Orissa. By that time, the map of India had been greatly changed due to the fall of the Rajput Kingdoms of Northern India. The Muslims had conquered as far as Patna. The conquest of Western Bengal, which was to open the road to Orissa, was to follow next. It is seen that the Kings of Eastern Ganga dynasty of Orissa were unmindful of the impending danger. It was in the reign of Raja Raja III that the Muslims of Bengal, invaded Orissa for the first time. This was the beginning of the Muslim invasions which continued to endanger Orissa till her final conquest in A.D. 1568.

According to Tabaqat-i Nasiri, Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji, 'had despatched Muhammad-i-Sheran and his brother Ahmad-i-Sheran with a portion of his forces towards Lakhnor and Jajnagar' in A.D. 1205[2]. Lakhnor was the place now called Nagar in the district of Birbhum and Jajnagar has been identified with modern Tippera in Bengal by some scholars. But the Muslim historians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries always have described Orissa as Jajnagar. Shamsi-Siraj Afif mentioned of Jajnagar Udisa in his work, at least at one place[3].

The results of the expedition were not recorded by the Muslim Chronicler of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri. According to Minhaj while Ikhtiyar-ud-din was returning from the unsuccessful expedition to Kamrup, he was murdered by Ali Mardan, his commander. On hearing the death of their master, the two Sheran brothers 'came back from that quarter (Jajnagar) and returned again to Diw-Kot (Devkot)'[4].

No inscriptional evidence has so far been traced regarding the Muslim invasion during the period of Raja Raja III. Therefore, there is doubt about the invasion as such. But the conflict which occurred during that time between the Muslim rulers of Bengal and the Ganga Kings of Orissa finds a reference in Muslim chronicles. The very meagre account given by the

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Muslim historians seems to indicate that the campaign against Jajnagar was not successful. If at all they invaded Orissa, Raja Raja III's resistance might have forced them to return. During that time the Ganga King was very powerful. His empire extended from Ganges to Godavari. The Ganga rulers, in general, had never hesitated to record their fight with the Muslim rulers. But Raja Raja III did not refer to any struggle with the Muslims. That leads us to believe that Ikhtiyar-ud-din's conquest of Orissa had no historical basis.

After the death of Ikhtiyar-ud-din, Qutubuddin conferred Bengal to Ali Mardan Khalji, who died after two years. Ghiyasuddin Iwaz, a contemporary of Sultan Iltutmish of Delhi, became the next ruler of Bengal in A.H. 612 (A.D. 1215)[5]. Anangabhima III (A.D. 1211-38), the son and successor of Raja Raja III, was the contemporary of Ghiyasuddin Iwaz. The second war with the Muslims took place during the reign of Anangabhima III. It is stated that Ghiyasuddin Iwaz consolidated the Muslim power in Bengal, proclaimed himself as the Sultan, withdrew his allegiance to the Delhi Sultan Iltutmish, and extended his rule over Jajnagar or Orissa. Minhaj-ud-din in his Tabaqat-i-Naisiri states that Jajnagar sent tribute to Sultan Ghiyasuddin[6]. Except this bold statement no details of any campaign against Jajnagar have been recorded by him. Ghiyasuddin's invasion of Jajnagar, if it was true, must have taken place before A.D. 1225. Because, from A.D. 1225 he was engaged in battles with the Sultan Iltutmish of Delhi and his son Nasiruddin Muhammad. Ghiyasuddin was finally defeated and killed in 1226. But Ghulam Hussain Salim, the author of Riyaz-us-Salatin, does not even refer to Ghiyasuddin's expedition to Jajnagar, let alone his collecting tribute from its ruler.

It may be pointed out here that the Chatesvara inscription (in the village of Krishnapur of Cuttack district) of Anangabhima III alludes to his war with the Yavanas, presumably the Muslim rulers of Bengal. In this inscription, the conquest of the Tumhana country (modern Vilaspur district in U.P.) and the defeat of the Yavana king by Visnu, the minister of Ananga-

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bhima, have been described in verses fourteen and fifteen. They state: 'The Vaikhanasas could not have even by their most austere penance, comprehend the omnipresence and all-pervasiveness of Visnu, the extent to which the idea was realised by "Tunghana Prithvipati" (king Tunghana or Tumnana) when he began, apprehending Visnu there, too look around through extreme fear while fighting on the bank of the Bhima, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills on the sea-shore'.

'What more shall I speak of his heroism? He along fought against the Musalman king and applying arrows to his bow, killed many successful warriors. His heroism transcends descriptions'[7].

The Yavana king, as described in the inscription, was very likely the Muslim governor of Lakhnauti. According to some, there is no truth in the statement of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri that Ghiyasuddin Iwaz had made the Ganga king tributary to him. Because, both the Muslim governor of Bengal and the Ganga king had claimed victory. Perhaps Iwaz invaded Orissa and was driven out. Therefore, this invasion can not be called a conquest as it had no permanent result.

Opinion is divided as to the identity of king Tunghana Prithvipati. Some consider the word Tunghana as Tummana, the country of the Haihayas of Chedi and hold the opinion that the king referred to therein was the king of Tummana, whoever he might be.[8] In the opinion of some others, Tunghana Prithvipati can be identical with Malik Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan of Lakhnauti.[9] M. Somasekhar Sharma[10] agrees with N. N. Vasu who identifies Tughan Prithvipati with Tughan Khan. But M. M. Chakravarti, while writing on the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga, states that the king with whom Visnu fought was Tummana Prithvipati and not Tughan Khan. He writes, 'He (Anangabhima III) and a Brahmin minister named Visnu who fought for him with the Yavana—"Yavan-avanindusamare" (lines 1.15)'.[11]

N. N. Vasu reads Tummans as Tughana and identifies him with Tughril-i-Tughan Khan[12]. The identification is open to objection. Firstly, the expression 'Tummna Prithvipateh' means

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the king of the Tummana land. Therefore, the word 'Tummana' can not be applied to any person. Secondly, the fight between Tughan Khan and the king of Orissa took place on 13 Shawwal A.H. 642 (March 1245), i.e., six or seven years after Anangabhima had ceased to rule. Some historians approve M. M. Chakravarti's identification. The main difficulty in N. N. Vasu's reading and identification appears to be in the date 13 Shawwal A.H. 642 (14 March 1245), the date of the battle with Tughan Khan, as we know that Anangabhima ceased to rule long before A.D. 1245. M. M. Chakravarti, therefore, suggested that the verse refers to two battles fought by Visnu. one with the ruler of Tummana, and the other, with the Yavanas. He identifies the Yavana ruler with Ghiyasuddin Iwaz (A.D. 1210-27) who, was an early contemporary of Anangabhima III (A.D. 1211-38). But Tughan Khan was also his contemporary as he was the ruler of Lakhnauti from A.D. 1233-44.

Whatever be the case, the Yavana king referred to in his inscription was the Muslim ruler of Bengal.

After the death of Iltutmish, those who succeeded to the Delhi throne until A.D. 1246 were weak sultans. In A.D. 1246, Nasiruddin, a son of Iltutmish became Sultan and ruled for twenty years. He left the entire administration in the hands of his minister Ulugh Khan (Balban), who succeeded his master.

In the meantime Malik Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughan Khan had become the governor of North-West Bengal in A.D. 1233 and ruled till A.D. 1244. He was thus a contemporary of Anangabhima III and his son and successor Narasimha I. During the reigns of Sultan Rukunuddin Firoz Shah, Sultana Reziya, Sultan Muizuddin Bahram and Allauddin Masud Shah, Tughril Khan remained undisturbed in the North-Western frontier of the Musalman kingdom of North India. A war with Orissa in A.H. 641 (A.D. 1243) ruined him. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri records the following :

'In the year 641 H., the Rae of Jajnagar[18] commenced molesting the Lakhnawati territory, and in the month of Shawwal, 641 H. (Nov. 1243), Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan marched towards the Jajnagar country, and this servant of the

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state (Minhajuddin, the author) accompanied him on that holy expedition. On reaching Katasin, which was the boundary of Jajnagar (on the side of Lakhnauti), on Saturday the 6th of the month of Zi-Ka dah, 641 H. (15 April, 1244), Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan made his troops mount, and an engagement commenced. The holy warriors of Islam passed over two ditches, and the Hindu infidels took to flight. So far as they continued in the author's sight, except the fodder which was before theire elephants, nothing fell into the hands of the foot men of the army of Islam, and moreover, Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan's commands were that no one should molest the elephants, and for this reason, the fierce fire of battle subsided'.

'When the engagement had been kept up until mid day the foot men of the Musalman army every one of them returned (to the camp ?) to eat their food, and the Hindus in another direction stole through the cane jungal and took five elephants, and about two hundred foot and fifty horse-men came upon the rear of a portion of the Musalman army. The Muhammadans sustained an over-throw, and a great number of those holy warriors attained martyrdom, and Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan retired from that place without having effecting his object, and returned to Lakhnauti'[14].

After his return to Lakhnauti, Tughan Khan sent Sharful Mulk, to the court of Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah at Delhi to solicit his assistance against Jajnagar.

The situation of Katasin is yet a subject of controversy. According to Major Raverty, Katasin, 'is situated on the Northern bank of Mahanadi'. This statement is inadmissible. Minhaj states that Katasin was the frontier outpost of Orissa. It is worthwhile to note that Katasin was a frontier outpost as late as the time of Mukunda Deva Harichandan. Madla Panji states that when the 'Padshah of Gaud' invaded Orissa, Mukunda took refuge in the fort of "Kotisami"[15]. Some scholars have identified Kotisamigarh with Kotsimul on the western bank of the river Damodar in the Hooghly district.[16] In that case the Kingdom of Orissa extended upto the river Damodar.

In the year A.H. 642 (A.D. 1245), the Raja of Jajnagar,

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according to Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, invaded the territory of Lakhnauti with a big army to avenge the plundering of Katasin by Tughan Khan. The date of this invasion is given as Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Shawwal 642 A.H. (14 March, 1245). The armies of the Raja of Orissa passed beyond the frontier of Jajnagar territory, attacked Lakhnor and slaughtered a large number of muslims including Fakhr-ul-Mulk Karim-ud-din Laghri, the commandant of Lakhnor. After taking the fort, they appeared before the gate of Lakhnauti. In the words of Minhaj.

'In the same year (642 H). likewise the Rae of Jajnagar in order to avenge the plundering of Katasin which had taken place in the preceeding year, as has already been recorded, having turned his face towards the Lakhnawati territory, on Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Shawwal, 642 H. (14 March, 1245) the army of the infidels of Jajnagar, consisting of elephants, and payiks (foot men) in great numbers arrived opposite Lakhnawati. Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host on coming beyond the frontier of the Jajnagar territory, first took Lakhnor ; and Fakhur-ul-Mulk Kari Karimuddin Laghri, who was the feudatory of Lakhnor with a body of Musalmans, they made martyrs of. and after that appeared before the gate of Lakhnawati'[17].

Minhaj-ud-din also gives the name of the leader of the campaign as Sabantar in another context, while describing the hostilities that arose in A.H. 678 (A.D. 1279). The leader of the forces of Jajnagar, he says, 'was a person by name Sabantar, the son-in-law of the Rae, who during the time of Malik Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhnauti and having shown the greatest audacity had driven the Musalmans as far as the gate of the city of Lakhnauti. In Malik Tughril Khan Yuzbak's time judging from the past he (the Jajnagar leader) manifested great boldness and fought and was defeated'[18].

From the above accounts of the Muslim historian, it is clear that the invasion of Lakhnauti by the Rae of Jajnagar was

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continuously carried on from A.D. 1243 to 1247 and the army of the king of Orissa was always victorious until the death of their leader, the son-in-law of the king. This period falls within the reigns of Anangabhima II and Narasimha I.[19]

The inscriptions of the Anantabasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar helps us in corroborating the statement of those events. The inscriptions state :

'On Chodaganga's lineage was like a flag the heroic Anangabhima whose profound strength was celebrated by the damsels of a multitude of hostile kings destroyed by his power, and who was exceedingly proud of his horses, the speed of which surpassed that of the snakes' foe or Garuda. He made an end of that war by defeating the Yavanas with impetuosity after entering into their territory beyond the frontier'.[20]

The last sentence of this verse reminds us Minhaj's statement, "The infidel host on coming beyond the frontier of Jajnagar territory first took Lakhnauti". This event took place in November A.D. 1244 when Anangabhima III was ruling Orissa, and his son-in-law was the leader of the forces of Jajnagar.[21] The temple of Anantabasudeva was built by Chandra Devi, the daughter of Anangabhimadeva, who was given in marriage to Paramardi Deva of Haiyaya lineage (Verse 7). In the verse twenty of the inscription poet Umapati writes : "The valiant Paramardi Deva having found the enemies of the battle loving king Vira Narasimha Deva to be dwelling in the world of Gods, went himself thither in fury to conquer them with full display of glory".[22] This passage reminds us the line written by Minhaj that 'he (Jajnagar leader) manifested great boldness, and fought and was defeated'. This fight took place when Malik Yuzbak (A.D. 1246-1258) was the governor of Lakhnauti and Narasimha Deva on the throne of Orissa.[23]

According to P. Acharya, the expression "on coming beyond the frontier of the Jajnagar territory, seems to be the translation of the Sanskrit "Savantopasarpaj—Javanam" of this inscription. This similarity of expression and the disclosure of relationship of the king of Orissa with the leader of the forces of Jajnagar suggest that the fight of Tughril Khan of

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Bengal with the king of Jajnagar took place with Narasimha Deva I, the son of Anangabhima Deva.[24] The date of this fight is March 1245.[25] The mention of Paramardi in the inscription and Sabantar by Minhaj as the son-in-law of Rae of Jajnagar suggests that the war of the Ganga kings of Orissa with Muslim kings of Bengal was fought by the son-in-law of Anangabhima Deva III during the reign of Narasimha Deva I[26].

Anangabhima Deva III was succeeded by his son Narasimha Deva I. The rule of this monarch greatly enhanced the prestige of his family, and the Ganga empire is said to have reached its zenith during his reign. Narasimha Deva I annexed to his empire some portions of Bengal which had been occupied by muslims. His policy was not of a defensive nature against the aggressive Muhammadans. But he himself took up an aggressive role and invaded Bengal more than once. Sultan Iltutmish had died in A.D. 1236, and the throne of Delhi remained weak, when Nasiruddin Muhammad was the Sultan of Delhi. During that period Tughan Khan was the Governor of Bengal, with whom Narasimha Deva crossed his sword.

The Kendupatna Copperplate grants of the Eastern Ganga King, Narasimha Deva II, son of Bhanudeva I, state that his grandfather Narasimha Deva I (A.D. 1236-1264) conquered Radha and Varendra from the Yavanas or the rulers of Lakhnauti The English translation of the verse is quoted below :

'The (white) river Ganga, blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eye of the weeping Yavanis of Radha and Varendra and rendered waveless as if by th s astonishing achievement was now transformed by that monarch (Narasimha I) into the black-watered Yamuna' (Verse 84)[27].

Radha and Varendra, mentioned in the above record, were the two main divisions of the territory of Lakhnauti. "The territory of Lakhnauti", writes Minhajuddin, "has two wings on either side of the river Ganga. The western side they call Barindah and the city of Diwkot is on that side".[28] Narasimha

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Deva I achieved these victories in the course of his campaign undertaken in A.D. 1245. But we know from the Muslim chroniclers that those victories were only temporary. When, according to them, the forces of the Raja of Jajnagar were before the gates of Lakhnauti, news spread that fresh forces were arriving from Delhi for the aid of the ruler of Lakhnauti and we are told by Minhaj that the Hindus were struck with terror and decamped on hearing the news.

In fact, help came to Tughan Khan from the Sultan of Delhi due to the former's appeal for it. The Sultan ordered Qamuruddin Tamur Khan, the governor of Oudh, to proceed to Lakhnauti with amirs and troops. Obeying the commands, Tamur Khan marched with his forces to Bengal. He arrived at Lakhnauti on the first of Zi-Hajjah, 642, A.H. (30 April, 1245). When the forces arrived at Lakhnauti, distrust arose between Tamur Khan and Tughan Khan. Consequently, the course of events took a curious turn and ultimately Malik Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughan Khan had to deliver Lakhnauti to Tamur Khan and, finally, to leave Bengal.[89]

Therefore, the account by Minhaj that the Hindu army retired in confusion after the appearance of Qamuruddin Tamur Khan, is not correct. Because, no victory is recorded for the Muslim army. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that a big and strong army of the king of Orissa retired to their country only by hearing the news of the fresh arrival of forces from Delhi. The Hindu army of Orissa had plundered the Muslim districts of Bengal and next retired to their own country on the approach of the monsoon. Qamuruddin Tamur Khan is said to have remained in a state of rebellion against the Delhi Sultanate for two years till his death.

We are once again told that Sabantar was the leader of the Jajnagar forces, who marched towards Lakhnauti during the reign of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbak, who was newly appointed as the ruler of Bengal by Balban in A.D. 1256. Minhaj credits the Raja of Jajnagar with invading Lakhnauti thrice during the rule of Yuzbak. He further states that the Viceroy came out successful in the first two engagements in spite of the

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valour displayed by the leader of Jajnagar forces. 'On the third occasion', writes Minhaj, 'Malik Yuzbak sustained a slight reverse and a white elephant, than which there was no other valuable in that part and which was ruttish got out of his hands in the fields of battle and fell into the hands of the infidels of Jajnagar'.[30]

The same authority tells us that Malik Yuzbak in his turn invaded Jajnagar sometimes later. 'The following, however, writes Minhaj, 'Malik Yuzbak asked assistance from the court of Delhi and then marched an army from Lakhnauti into the territory of Umardan and unexpectedly reached the Rae's capital which place they style Umardan. The Rae of that place retired before Malik Yuzbak and the whole of the Rae's family dependants and followers and his wealth and elephants fell in the hands of the Musalman forces'.[31] But no such place was ever the capital of Orissa. Yuzbak might have captured an important fort, and with it, some members of the royal family. A silver coin had been struck by Yuzbak from the mint of the Lakhnauti in A.H. 653 (A.D. 1255) in memory of his conquest of Umardan.[32] The date of the coin makes it possible to say that Yuzbak's last campaign in Orissa took place either in 1255 or shortly before that date with the assistance of the Sultan of Delhi. Because, after that event in 1255, he raised the standard of rebellion against the Sultan of Delhi, assumed royal title, struck coins, and read the "Khutba" in his name. But he was killed in an expedition to Kamrupa in or about A.D. 1257 after which the supremacy of Delhi over Bengal was re-established.

Thus the struggle between the king of Orissa and the governor of Bengal ended with the death of Yuzbak. The net result of the conflict between Narasimha I Deva and Muslim rulers of Bengal was that the southern districts of Bengal, Midnapur, Howrah and Hooghly were annexed to the kingdom of Orissa.

Apart from the epigraphic corborations of the relations of the Orissan kings Anangabhima III and Narasimhadeva I with the Muslim governors of Bengal and the Sultans of Delhi as written

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in Persian by Minhaj, the contemporary Sanskrit literature also gives a number of references relating to the subject. A Sanskrit book called "Ekavali" was composed by Vidyadhara who lived in the court of Narasimha I. The book gives several references to the king's fight with the Muslims. who are referred as *Yavana*. The king is called "Yavanavani Vallabha" or the Lord of the Yavana kingdom (Varendra) who had invaded Orissa with the assistance of the Sultan of Delhi. But he was defeated by Narasimha I. The memory of the conquest of Narasimha over the army of Delhi, which was proudly cherished by the people of Orissa finds expression in a verse of a chapter of 'Bhaktivamawat Mahakavyam" (A.D. 1509) by Kavidimdima Jivadeva Acharya describing the history of Orissa. The Muslim historian is silent about the result of the combined attack by the armies of Delhi and Bengal on the border of Orissa. But it seems certain from the description of the above mentioned Sanskrit work that Narasimha I came out victorious in this battle. His success saved Orissa from Muslim aggression for a long time. During the period of peace that followed, the king built the famous Sun Temple at Konarka.[88]

Narasimha I died in A.D. 1264. He was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva I. During his time Tughril Khan was the governor of Bengal. He invaded Orissa in A.H. 678 (A.D. 1275)[84]. The object of Muhammadan raids was to secure the elephants for which Jajnagar, as the Muslim chroniclers styled Orissa, was famous. The foray of the Bengal governor Tughril Khan resulted in the capture of some elephants. The spoil and elephants which he had captured at Jajnagar, he kept for himself and sent none to Delhi. After this event, he assumed royal insignia, and took the title of Sultan Mughisu-d-din, which title was used in the Khutba and on his coins[85]. This he did in A.D. 1279[86]. So the wars and invasions alluded to above had taken place during the last years of Bhanudeva I (A.D. 1264-1279). After A.D. 1279 Tughril Khan got involved in wars with the Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban, who sent his forces to crush the Bengal rabellion.

The reigns of Raja Raja III, Narasimha I and Bhanudeva I

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synchronised roughiy with the rule of the so called Slave dynasty. Iltutmish, Nasiruddin and Balban invaded and subdued Bihar and Bengal though they failed in their attempts against Orissa. That was due to the hilly nature of the country, the strength of the Ganga power, and due to their constant struggle with the Bengal Sultans. Moreover, during the entire period of the Slave rule no addition of territory was made by any of the Turkish rulers from Qutub-ud-din Aibak down to the death of Kaiqubad in 1290. Their time and energy were quite exhausted in reconquering what Muhammad of Chur had conquered but had been lost to his successors. When Balban became the Sultan, he was faced with the same old question, whether to make fresh conquests from Hindu rulers. Some of his old friends advised him to follow the above course. But the Sultan, who was a realist felt that it would mean taking risk and exposing Delhi to the Mongols and subjecting the state to internal disorder. He, therefore, decided not to make fresh conquests but to consolidate what the Sultan already possessed.

After the fall of the Slaves, the Khilijis succeeded to the throne of Delhi. No evidence is available as to their conquest or invasion of Orissa. In the Kendupatna (in the Cuttack district). Copper plate No. I of Narasimha II, issued in A.D. 1296, it has been mentioned that the king granted two villages while he was 'out on a campaign on the banks of the Ganges on the occasion of lunar eclipse'. Some scholars suggest that the campaign "had for its purpose an attempt to succour the inhabitants of southern Bengal (Saptagrama in the Hooghly district) from the Yoke of the Musalmans"[37]. But other scholars have rejected this view. Because there is nothing in the inscription to suggest that the King Narasimha II fought with the Musalmans. The South-Western districts of Bengal, Howrah and Midnapore, had formed a part of the kingdom of Orissa, as a result of Narasimha's campaign. Evidently, Narasimha II marched to the north to guard the frontier of Orissa[38].

In 1320, the throne of Delhi passed to the hands of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. The contemporary king of Orissa was Bhanudeva II, the son and successor of Narasimha II, who had

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succeeded to the throne in 1306. Ghiyasuddin invaded Bengal in 1324, to interfere on behalf of one of the decendants of Balban named Nasiru-ud-din Ibrahim, in the kingdom of Bengal. At that time Ghiyasuddin's eldest son Ulugh Khan, afterwards the Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq Shah, invaded Orissa from the South after having conquered Warangal and Rajmahendri. 'The prince then marched towards Jajnagar', writes Ziauddin Barani, and took forty elephants, with which he returned to Tilang'[39]. He sent the elephants to his father as present. Tilang is Telingana, the Kingdom of Warangal.

The Puri plates of Narasimha IV record Bhanudeva II's victory over a king named 'Gayasuddina'[40], who had been identified with Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. It is generally assumed that Bhanudeva fought with Sultan Ghiyasuddin who probably invaded Jajnagar, after reducing Bengal, and the invaslon was successfully warded off. But the earlier view that the inscription refers to Bhanudeva's fight with Ulugh Khan is not altogether improbable. Paramardi Samantaray and Vishnu fought for Narasimha I, though Narasimha II's inscriptions praised Narasimha I for the victory. Moreover, Narasimha IV's inscription recorded the event, fifty five years after it took place and probably confused the name.[41]

The incident has been described by some scholars as another Muslim invasion of Orissa during the reign of Bhanudeva II. But it was not an invasion, it was a mere raid. Juna Khan (Ulugh Khan) raided the southern boundaries of Orissa and was expelled by Bhanudeva. There is no evidence as regard to the annexation of any part of Orissa to the empire of the Tughlaq dynasty. There is no mention of Jajnagar or Orissa in any authentic list of the Kingdoms and provinces administered by Juna Khan (Muhammad Bin Tughlaq). However, a certain Shahabuddin, in his work of Travels, had stated, on the information given by a native of Oudh, that the dominions of Muhammad Tughlaq consisted of twenty three provinces and the twenty second was Jajnagar.[42] The reference probably resulted from the capture of forty elephants, which

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was done by a raid, not by conquest. The raid took place in A.D. 1323.

The statement of the Muslim historian that Orissa was a province of the Sultanate was gathered from third hand information. On the other hand the inscription of Narasimha IV mentions of the defeat of Ghiyasuddin in the hands of Bhanudeva II. The passage runs thus : 'The king's (Bhanudeva's) war with Ghiyasuddin beginning, the blood flowing from the neck of the many of the big chiefs wounded by his valour filled the world. The blood stream gushing up profusely from the then wounded breasts of the (enemy's) elephants was such that it still shines in the sky in the disguise of sun-set glow'.

Bhanudeva III, the son of Narasimha III succeeded to the throne in 1352. The decline of the eastern Ganga dynasty had become so marked that the neighbouring kings took advantage of the situation and raided Orissa from all sides. In A.D. 1339, Shamsuddin Iliyas Shah, governor of Bengal declared himself independent of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq of Delhi. In 1353, he 'led an expedition to Jajnagar in order to obtain elephants and returned to Lakhnauti.'[43] Other Muslim historians agree that Sultan Shamsuddin invaded Jajnagar.[44] His invasion of Orissa seems to be an adherence to the traditional policy of the Muslim Sultans of Bengal towards Orissa. It is no wonder that the kingdom of Orissa which was described by Muslim historians as a land of plenty, should have been a prey to the powerful Muslim kings of both ea t and west. The invasion of Iliyas Shah was crowned with success and he returned with abundance of plunder including forty elephants. The success of Iliyas Shah might have been the result of the fact that during the same time Orissa was invaded by king Bucarao i.e., Bukkarayo of Vijyanagar. It was not possible for Bhanudeva III, the king of Orissa, to check foreign invasions on two fronts[45].

But P. Acharya has described the expedition of Iliyas Shah to Jajnagar as a myth[46]. In his argument, Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi of an unknown author is the only Persian History which mentions Iliyas Shah's invasion of Orissa in a passing reference. But there is no reference to it in any other work of contemporary Muslim

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historians. Ziauddin Barani is the earliest author to mention Firoz Shah's invasion of Lakhnauti in A.D. 1354 against Iliyas Shah and he has not written anything about Iliyas Shah's expedition to Jajnagar in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. So also Ainul-Mulk Mahru in his Letters, and Shams-i-Siraj Afif in his Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi are silent about Iliyas Shah's expedition to Jajnagar in 1351 A.D. But Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi mentions the following :

'Some of the commanders of the army who had been deputed for pillage and plunder sent news there was an island near the sea-coast having a board and a long pool of water in which nearly one hundred thousand men of Jajnagar had taken refuge with their women, children, kinsmen and relatives. Each figure was (rediant) like the moon and sun, but notwithstanding this appearance, they were crouching in water like fish. It was stated that Shamsuddin the ruler of Lakhnauti had besieged them on this sea-coast but with all his forces, he could not gain the upper hand over them and had returned empty handed. On receipt of this news the auspicious stirrups were turned in that direction etc.'[47].

Thus Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi ascribes an invasion of Orissa to Iliyas Shah in which he had failed to defeat the king of Orissa and returned empty handed. However, without any reference to it in the accounts of other contemporary Muslim historians, it is difficult to believe that Iliyas Shah invaded Orissa. Besides, in other Muslim histories written subsequent to the rule of Firoz Shah, like Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Muntakhabat Tawarikh, Tarikh-i-Ferishta, there is no mention of Iliyas Shah's invasion. But Nizamuddin in his Tabaqat-i-Akbari mentions the invasion of Orissa by Iliyas Shah who obtained many large elephants[48]. There is a similar reference to Iliyas Shah's invasion of Orissa in Riyaz-us-Salatin, also a very late work. It is stated therein that Iliyas Shah obtained many valuables and elephants from Orissa.

Facts contained in the Dharmalingeswar Temple Inscription not only disapproves of the fact of any invasion of Orissa by Iliyas Shah, but also throws a new light on the relation existing between Iliyas Shah and his Ganga contemporary, Nara simha Deva III. It appears that this significant inscription has escaped

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the notice of the scholars who have dealt with the invasion of Orissa by Iliyas Shah and Firoz Shah.

The text of the aforesaid Dharmalingeswar temple inscription is as follows :

'Ekam Cnitramidam tu Pandava Suratranarte Senaparitranatam pratigamy Vahu Vibhavainirjjitya Dillipatim. Dvavismatyuree dantibhih Samamada Jaitrendiramutkal ksnisayasa bhupati Suravara Stribhyasturuskanapi'.

Dr. J. Notel's translation of the above is given below :

'But this was an unique (and) wonderful (deed) having set out to project the harrassed army of the Sultan of Pandava and having by the stretch of (his) arm completely vanquished the ruler of Dilhi that king (Choda II) gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two great elephants to the king of Utkal and, Turks to the excellent damsels of the God'[49].

In view of the facts stated in this inscription it appears likely that Iliyas Shah sought the help of the Ganga king of Orissa, Bhanu Deva against the invasion of Bengal by Firoz Shah in A.D. 1353-54. Firoz Shah's hasty return to Delhi after he gained decisive victory over Iliyas Shah is rather mysterious. He did not press his victory to overthrow Iliyas Shah.

The Muslim historians have tried to explain the situation by stories, such as, the Sultan being moved at the pitious cries of women returned from the field, etc. The real fact, it appears, was that the reinforcement received by Iliyas Shah from Orissa helped him to stem the tide of invasion and send the Sultan flying back to Delhi.

In the fact of the accounts contained in the inscription, it is difficult to accept the fact of invasion of Orissa by Iliyas Shah in A.D. 1351. When he received substantial help from the king of Orissa at a great risk incurring the wrath of the Sultan of Delhi. This help of the king not only saved Iliyas Shah from the danger but enabled him to drive away the Sultan Firoz Shah from his territory. This attitude of the king of Orissa shows that a cordial relation was existing between Bengal and Orissa, which could not have been possible if there was an invasion of Orissa in A.D. 1351 as alleged in the Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi.

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The alliance and friendship between the Ganga king of Orissa and the Sultan of Lakhnauti resulted in a peaceful co-existence in Eastern India. Muslim officers were appointed in the service of the Hindu king of Orissa. This fact has been recorded by the author of Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi in connection with Firoz Shah's expedition to Jajnagar in a twisted manner as follows :

'While the elephant hunt was in progress Khan-i-Aazm, Khaqan-i-Muazam Ahmad Khan who had been expelled from Bengal by Sultan Shamsuddin and had allied with the Rai of Jajnagar'.[50]

S. N. Rajguru also holds similar views about the relationship of Iliyas Shah and the Ganga king of Orissa. According to him 'A similar suppression of facts by Muslim historians is traced from epigraphical records (Dharmalingeswar temple inscription) relating to defeat of Firuz Tughlaq by Choda II who was a subordinate king of Bhanudeva III (A.D. 1353-1378) and led an army right upto Bengal to help the Sultan of Panduva (Haji Iliyas) at the moment when Firoz attacked the kingdom in A D. 1353'[51].

J. Nobel who edited the Dharmalingeswar temple inscription and studied Ferishta's account relating to the activities of Firoz Shah in Bengal in A.D. 1353 came to the conclusion :

'The last remark leaves no doubt that Firoz Tughlaq did not succeed in subduing Ilyas Khwaja, which would be quite in harmony with the statement of the present inscription, that the Sultan of Panduva gained a victory over the emperor of Delhi. From the inscription we may further gather that the Sultan of Panduva was aided by the king of Orissa and from the account the Choda II gave "the Sri of victory together with twenty-two elephants to the king of Utkal", it becomes likely that he was a vassal of the ruler of Orissa, or a general of his army'[52].

Thus by making friendship with Haji Ilyas, Bhanudeva invited danger to his own kingdom. Firoz's failure in Bengal made him determined to take revenge. He waited for an opportunity which he got after the death of Ilyas Shah in A.D. 1357. The latter was succeeded by his son Sikandar Shah when Firoz Shah appeared for the second time in Bengal in A.D. 1360. He adopted methods of negotiation and finally a treaty of friendship was ratified with

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an exchange of presents. After securing the support of the Sultan of Bengal, Firoz returned towards Delhi and passed the rainy season in Jaunpur. It is said that while he was staying at Jaunpur, he suddenly conceived the plan of making a raid upon Jajnagar. It could have been natural that after securing friendship with the Bengal Sultan, Firoz might have stayed in Bengal for the rainy season, and, thereafter, would have proceeded towards Jajnagar on the coastal route. Instead, he went back to Jaunpur to pass the rainy season there. It can be said that his return to Jaunpur was a deliberate move to mislead the Orissa King. The move achieved its end. His retreat made Bhanudeva slack in war preparations. After the rainy season, in the month of November, A.D. 1360, Firoz marched against Jajnagar most unexpectedly in a lightening speed through Bihar and Chotanagpur and easily entered Cuttack, the capital of Orissa. The king of Orissa was taken by surprise. Thus Firoz Shah's return to Jaunpur was deliberate, and was partly actuated by apprehension that Sikandar might take advantage of any fight between him and the king of Orissa.

Thus Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq invaded Orissa in A.D. 1361 at the time of his second invasion of Bengal. Afif's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi gives a detailed account of the relation between Sultan Firuz Shah and Jajnagar, then under Bhanudeva III. In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri[53] and Yahya Bin Ahmad's Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi[54] there is also a reference to this invasion. Firoz Shah's expedition in a detailed manner with the exact route, was also mentioned in Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi, composed by an anonymous author[55]. The description speaks of the said days of Orissa during the expedition of Firoz Shah.

According to the accounts of the author, during Firoz Shah's second expedition into Bengal in 1358-1359 A.D., the Sultan halted at Jaunpur in July-September, 1360, on his return journey to Delhi At that time he received reports of opulence of the kingdom of Orissa. In the words of the author 'when the news of the charms of this tract was conveyed to the Royal ears, it was honoured by his attention, and the attention of his gracious mind was focused on journeying towards that quarter, with a view to exterpating Rai Gajpat, massacring the unbelievers, demolishing

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their temple, hunting elephants and getting a glimpse of their enchanting country'.[56] The Sultan leaving his baggage at Kara, started from Jaunpur and reached Bihar in about December, 1360. From there he marched towards modern Pachet, and next started for Sikhar in the district of Manbhum. After reducing these territories to utter ruins, he reached Jajnagar. The first town of the kingdom to be invaded was Tinnanagar where the inhabitants put up some struggle, but ultimately the town was subdued. Next, the Imperial army marched on Kinianagar, the former capital of Mayurbhanj. From there the Sultan's army turned southward and swiftly marched through Keonjhar to reach the frontier of the Cuttack region. The Sultan's army captured and massacred a detachment of the Orissa army which was sent by the Rai of Jajnagar to resist the invaders. The Sultan made a swift march and arrived at Sarangagarh, five miles south-west of Cuttack. Aynul Mulk Mahru, who, as it appears, was present at Cuttack during the campaign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, also refers to the reduction of Sarangagarh by the Sultan.[57] Because of the suddenness of the attack, the king fled towards Chattargarh (Chatur-duar garh) leaving the city to the headman.[58]

According to Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi by Afif, 'the Rae of Jajnagar, when he heard of the Sultan's army, embarked on a boat in great alarm, and took refuge on the water. All his country was thrown into confusion, some of the inhabitants were made prisoners, others fled to the hills'.[59] The island where the Rae took shelter appears to be the island of Dhableswar. It is probable that the king went to Dhavelswar from Chouduar.[60]

Meanwhile, some treacherous officers of Orissa sided with the Muslim army. One Baki (Bali Patra)[61] was a traitor of that type. It is gathered from Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi that, "Before the arrival of the presents from the king (of Jajnagar), one of his (Bhanudeva's) ministers named Baki presented himself before his Majesty and petitioned: For countless years from the time of my ancestors, we have devoted ourselves to the service of the Rai, but he is now oppressing me. When life was endangered and the dagger pierced the bones, I deserted him, panic-stricken and frightened as how long shall I represent my situation and complain against the injustice of

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the Rai. It was my good fortune that the imperial standards were unfurled at this opportune moment. I have appeared before the court so that I may be spared through the kindness of your sublime court."

'If your Majesty be not pleased to order my liberation, the hope of my earthly existence will be extinguished. If I am not favoured even at this time, what hour should I look forward to when the Rai of Jajnagar and the Zamindars of this country come to know of my favourable reception at the hands of your Majesty, denunciations against me would be of no avail'.

'Verse—

"When they regard me as your slave, they will enthrone me, in their eye-ball.

"Thy kindness which is open to all, has been lavished on me.

"Otherwise who am I that people should take cognisane of me."

'(The Sultan) distinguished him with royal favours and bounty, clothed him with robe of honour and made him the gift of a drum and a standard'.[62]

The other traitor was Khaqan-i-Muazam Ahmad Khan, who had been expelled from Bengal by Sultan Shamsuddin and had allied with the king of Orissa. This man 'left the infidel on the approach of the auspicious standards of the Muslim army and joined the World-protecting Court with his troops and followers.[63]

The Sultan on hearing that the Rae had taken refuge in an island in the river, pursued him and on the way spent some time in hunting wild elephants. Next he proceeded to destroy the temple of Jagannath. After its destruction the stone image of Jagannath was perforated and disgraced.[64]

While the army was returning from Jagannath some of the commanders who "had been deputed for pillage and plunder sent news that there was an island near the sea-coast having a broad and long pool of water" in which nearly one hundred thousand men of Jajnagar had taken refuge with their women, children, kinsmen and relation. They had taken refuge inside the lake to escape from the fury of the Imperial army. They were attacked in turn and a

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large number of them were put to the sword, while the rest offered submission.

When the Sultan next prepared to pursue the Rae into the island, the latter sent five patras (ministers to wait upon the Sultan. When the five patras respectfully submitted that their Raja was already dependent and subject of the Sultan, the latter replied that intentions were friendly and that he came to hunt for elephants. The Raja gave twenty mighty elephants as an offering and agreed to furnish a certain number yearly in payment of revenue. The Sultan then sent robes and insignia by the patra to the Raja and returned home after much difficulty with seventy three elephants, he obtained from Lakhnauti and Jajnagar. Thus after the submission of Bhanudeva III, the victorious campaign was concluded by an elephant hunt in Padmatala.[65] situated on the eastern boundary of the old Baud state in the modern Baud Phulbani district. It is a hilly area situated in the right bank of 'Satakosia' (14 miles long) gorge of the Mahanadi river. At the top of the hill there is a big natural pool of water which is resorted by many wild animals even now a days. It is situated about ninety miles west of Cuttack. It seems that Firoz Shah went as far as Padmatala in search of elephants and captured good many elephants.[66] In order to reach Padmatala, the Sultan must have passed through the old state of Athgarh and Baramba on his way from Cuttack. Thereafter, passing through the jungles of Narasinghpur via Sambalpur he returned to Kora.[67] From all accounts, it is apparent that Firoz Shah's invasion of Orissa was chiefly for the hunt of elephants. So he did not appoint a governor for Orissa and Bhanudeva III continued to enjoy paramountcy till his death in A.D. 1378.

A doubt is caused as to which Jagannath had been destroyed by Firoz Shah. Nagari Copper plates shows that Anangabhima III, installed the deity of Purushottama at Abbinaba Varanasi in A.D. 1230[68]. According to Madla Panji, Anangabhima III, built the fort of Barabati at Cuttack near the temple of Bissesvaradeva[69]. It has been mentioned in Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi that inside king Bhanu's fort there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannath, which the Sultan destroyed and carried to Delhi[70]. But the accounts given in Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi state that the Sultan

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marched out to the eastern-sea coast to destroy Jagannath. Therefore, some scholars presume that Jagannath destroyed by Firoz Shah was the Jagannath of Puri. But this view can be challenged.

It seems that the Muslim historian of Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi confused the image of Jagannath of Cuttack with that of Puri. Afif's account proves that the Jagannath temple at Puri was neither demolished nor were the images of the temple destroyed. He writes that the idol of Jagannath was a stone idol whereas the idols at Puri are of wood[71]. Malik Aynul-Mulk also has stated that, 'After the conclusion of these victories His Majesty proceeded on boat, sight seeing in the river upto the temple of Jagannath'[72]. The river mentioned above is the river Mahanadi on the bank of which was the temple of Jagannath built by Anangabhima III. Madla Panji also makes no reference to the invasion, of the Puri temple. Also there is no sign of any destruction of the temple of Puri which stands till today. But it has been described in Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi that 'Sultan Firoz destroyed the shrine, defaced the deity and obliterated all vestiges of this temple by throwing debris into the waters of the sea'[73].

From all such accounts it is clear that the temple of Jagannath destroyed by Firoz Shah was the Jagannath temple of Cuttack built by Anangabhima III. Perhaps due to the lack of geographical knowledge of Orissa, the author of Sirat-i Firoz Shahi stated that the temple of Jagannath destroyed by Firoz Shah was on the eastern sea-coast[74].

At present there are no remains at Cuttack of the temple built by Anangabhima III In the neighbouring area of the Barabati fort there is only a place called "Deula Sahi". Perhaps the temple existed somewhere there before it was destroyed by Firoz Shah.

According to some, the island referred to in Sirat-i Firuz Shahi it apparently the island in the Chilka lake. But, as it is clear from the above discussion, that Sultan had not at all gone towards Puri. So, the island referred to might have been some place near the lake Ansupa which is situated near the Athgarh town of Cuttack district. Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi has mentioned that after massacring the people of the istand the victorious campaign of the Sultan was concluded by an elephant hunt in

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Padmatola, near the Baramba state of Orissa and the Sultan returned to Kora via Sambalpur. To reach Padmatola, the Sultan could have passed only through the way of Ansupa lake.

Taking into consideration the accounts of the Persian histories, it is believed that a large number of temples were destroyed by Sultan Firoz Shah, from the temple of Khiching to the temple of Jagannath, and a massacre of extraordinary magnitude took place during his expedition It is also evident from the accounts that treacherous roles were played by some ministers of the king and that Orissa had already been involved in Bengal politics.[75]

Although, Firoz Shah occupied the capital of Orissa, it is not known as to why he did not annex Orissa, to his sultanate After his departure in 1361, the king Bhanudeva III ruled upto A.D. 1378. It seems that there is much exaggeration in the accounts of the Muslim historians about the invasion. A set of Copper plates have been discovered belonging to Bhanudeva III issued by him in A.D. 1362, just after the departure of Firoz Shah from Orissa. Surprisingly enough there is no mention of the Muslim invasion in those Copper Plates. On the other hand, Bhanudeva's court poets have sung the glorious achievements of their master in the Prasasti of the inscription. Therefore, it seems that some Muslim historians have inserted some exaggeration to please their master. They have omitted some real facts relating to the struggle between Bhanudeva III and the Sultan of Delhi, which are revealed from the contemporary records, and they show that Firoz was very strongly and ably resisted by the king of Orissa. Due to that reason and after the formal submission of Bhanudeva III, Firoz Tughlaq returned to Delhi without appointing his governor in Orissa. The expedition of Firoz Tughlaq, therefore, did not leave a permanent mark in the mind of the people.[76]

Bhanudeva was succeeded by his son Narasimha IV in A.D. 1378 There are references in some Muslim histories to the conquest of Orissa during his time by the first ruler of the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur. Malik Us Sharq is said to have invaded Jajnagar and compelled the Rae to pay him tribute.[77] According to Al-Badaoni, Sultan-Ush-Sharq, the founder of the Sharq dynasty of Jaunpur, "proceeded as far as Jajnagar and took possession of it, acquiring

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a large number of elephants and much valuable property'.[78] According to Nizamuddin, 'the Rae of Jajnagar and the Badshah of Lakhnauti sent to him presents and tribute which they had every year sent to Sultan Firoz Shah'.[79] Ferishta does not make any mention about the conquest of Orissa by Khwajah Jahan (Sultan-Ush Sharq).

Malik Ush Sharq (A.D. 1393-99) was a contemporary of Narasimha IV (A.D. 1378-1414). But excepting for a stray reference to the inavsion of Orissa, as cited above, there is no other evidence to support that statement. Ferishta's silence over the matter makes the statement all the more doubtful.[80]

According to Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, the Bahmani Sultan Tajuddin Firoz Shah invaded Orissa in A D. 1412 and carried away several elephants as tribute.[81] But Ferishta says: 'In the year A.H. 815 A D. 1412, the king Firoz went on pretence of hunting into the country of Gondwana, which he laid waste and brought away 300 elephant'.[82] Thus the two statements differ, and the real fact remains unknown

After the death of Narasimha IV, Nissanka Bhanudeva IV came to the throne in A D. 1414. There is little evidence of any Muslim invasion during his reign, excepting a doubtful account of Ferishta, which states that Sultan Hoshang Ghori of Malwa came over to Orissa in the guise of a merchant and captured the king by surprise, who, however, purchased his liberty presenting Hoshang a number of elephants.[83] R. D. Banerji suggests that this episode might have taken place at Ratnapur or Tummana in C.P. and not in Orissa.[84]

From the 'Chandrakala Natika' of Biswanath Kaviraj, written during the reign of Bhanudeva IV, we get a reference to the conquest of Gauda (Bengal) by him. It was written and staged on the happy occasion of victory over the Muslim kingdom of Gaur by Nissanka Bhanudeva IV. In this drama Biswanath narrates Nissanka Bhanu's achievements of victory over many kingdoms, namely Chola, Kosala, Vanga, Havanga, Kccha, Kanchi, Gauda, Dabala, Materya, Lata, Karnata etc. The work may be dismissed as a mere eulogistic description. But so far as the Gauda victory is concerned, the author specifies the event by alloting a seperate

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verse for it. It is found to be a common event in those days that the Muslim kings of Bengal and the Hindu kings of Orissa used to fight each other very frequently. So, the Gauda-victory of Nissanka Bhanu is quite a probable fact and we can not ignore the narration as an eulogistic fiction.

From the history of Gauda (Bengal) we know that the last king of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty died in H. 846 (A.D. 1443). During that interval of twenty-nine years a Hindu family rose into power. Raja Ganesa was the first king of that new family. His son embraced Islam and took a new name as Jalaluddin. He came to the throne in A.D. 1414, the very year when Nissanka Bhanu's corronation took place in Orissa Most probably during the first year of his accession Nissanka Bhanu took aggressive measures against the king of Gauda 'Jalaluddin'. Might be that after the king's return there was jubilation in Orissa, and Visvanath, the Sandhivigrahin (minister of war and peace) of the Trikalinga country, composed his Natika (drama).[85]

Bhanudeva IV was the last ruler of the Ganga dynasty He was an incapable ruler given to luxury and licentious habits and when he died childless in A.D. 1435, the throne was seized by the veteran minister Kapilesvara Routray, who began the rule of the Suryavansi dynasty (Solar dynasty) in Orissa. A section of opinion on the authority of the 'Gangavamsanu-Charitum' asserts that Kapilendra Deva was an usurper to the throne, and that when Bhanudeva came down to the south to ward off the Reddi attack on Kalinga in Saka 1356, the ministers made Kapilesvara king at Cuttack.[86] The Madla Panji also states that—'After some time a Subadar came to Orissa. King Matta Bhanu made Kapila Raut a courtier, and gave him the title, Bhamarvara. He met the Nawab to negotiate for peace. The Nawab was pleased with Kapila and when (Matta) Bhanu died, he helped Kapila to seize the throne'.[87]

The account of the Malda Panji is rather confused. The titles of Nawab and Subadar were not used before the Mughal rule. Therefore, the statement that a Nawab raised Kapilendra to the throne after the death of Bhanudeva IV can not be accepted in the absence of any confirmatory evidence. The literary sources in Sanskrit indicate that Kapilendra seized the throne with the help

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of nobles and ministers, taking advantage of Bhanudeva's absence from the capital.

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61. In the life and letters of Malik Aynul Mulk Mahru it is stated that the Rae of Jajnagar sent elephants through Ahmad Khan and Bali Patra (Vide *J.A.S.B.*, 1923, Vol. XIX, p. 286). Probably the correct name of that treacherous officer is Bali Patra (Vide *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 76, f n.).
62. *J.A.S.B.*, VIII, (1942), pp. 72ff.
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73. *J.A.S.B.*, VIII, p. 59.
74. That the Muslim historians did not possess a clear geographical knowledge of Orissa even in A.D. 1592, when Man Singh, the general of Mughal Emperor Akbar conquered Orissa, will be clear from the following account given in the Akbarnama. 'In the town of Bhadrak, news was received that the sons of Qutlu (and) had collected in the fort of Cuttack with 300 elephants. The fort was at the end of the country and on the sea-shore. It belonged to Raja Ramachandra who was a great landholder of the country. It was called Sarangarh (Sarangagarh). Raja Man Singh left Sujan Singh, and some others in the city and went to attack the fort and the Afghans took refuge in the forest near the sea. The fort was taken without contest.' (Vide *A.N.*, p. 941).

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The mention of fort Sarangagarh on the sea shore by Abul Fazl clearly proves the lack of geographical knowledge of the Muslim chroniclers about Orissa even in the 16th century. Therefore, the mention of Jagannath temple of Cuttack on the eastern sea coast by the author of Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi in the 14th century was only due to the lack of geographical knowledge. By this time Orissa had only faced some frequent invasions by the Muslim rulers of Delhi and Bengal and in all cases the kings of Orissa were able to drive them out from their territory. It was only in A.D. 1568 that the Muslims were able to establish their rule over Orissa. Only after that time they got the opportunity to form a clear idea about the geographical position of Orissa.

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Chapter Two

MUSLIM INVASIONS DURING THE SURYAVANSI DYNASTY AND THE FINAL CONQUEST OF ORISSA (A.D. 1435-1568)

Bhanudeva IV was the last ruler of the Ganga dynasty. He died childless in A.D. 1435. Thereupon the throne was seized by Kapilendra Deva, who began the rule of Suryavansi dynasty (Solar dynasty) in Orissa. With the accession of Kapilendra Deva the history of Orissa became eventful. The latter Ganga monarchs had been considerably enfeebled by the incursions of the Muslims and other neighbouring powers. The Muslim powers of Bengal and the Bahmani states were out to smash the Orissan hegemony. The kingdom of Vijayanagara was also rapidly extending over the eastern coast, and under Devaraya II (A.D. 1422-1448) its territorial limits in the north almost boarded to Godavari delta. In such circumstances Orissa was in need of a strong monarch like Kapilendra Deva to preserve her territories.

The first expedition of Kapilendra was against the aggressive ruler of Bengal, Shams-ud-din Abdul Mujahid Ahmad Shah, who was defeated by Gopinath Mahapatra, a minister of Kapilesvara.[1] The Gopinathpur inscription records the defeat of the Bengal Sultan.[2]

After occupying the (rajya) of Rajahmundry, Kapilendra Deva again turned his attention towards Bengal This is known from the wall inscription of the Jagannath Temple which mentions of the battle against Bengal on the 9th Anka of his reign which falls on A D. 1445. The inscription refers to his victory over Malik-Parisa'[3], the Sultan of Gauda. Because of this victory Kapilendra presented a precious "Sari" named 'Pundarika Gopa' to Lord Jagannath. The more significant fact was that the record describes Kapilendra Deva as the 'Gaudasvara' or Lord of Gauda. In all probability, Malik Parisa was Sultan Nasiruddin who ruled Bengal from A.D. 1442-1449. He was defeated sometimes before 1450

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since only after that date that we get the Gandesvara title of Kapilendra.[4]

We have no information as to the result of the Bengal campaign of Kapilendra. Perhaps he conquered the narrow coastal strip to the west of the river Hooghly including the fort of Mandaran (in the Arambagh sub-division of the Hughli district). Mandaran strategically guarded the military route from Burdwan to the coast of Orissa. But it appears that he could not retain his hold on Mandaran[5]. If we are to believe in the statement contained in an obscure persian work entitled Risalat-us-Suhada, Ismail Ghazi, commander of the Bengal Sultan Barbak Shah (1459-1474) completely defeated the Gajapati Raja of Mandaran who had defied the authority of the Sultan[6]. Ismail Ghazi's memory is cherished in the traditions of Bengal as a warrior saint. A fort at Mandaran is associated with his name[7]. There is a large gate, south of Mandaran, which is known as 'Uriya Mardana' or the discomfiture of the Oriyas[8]. According to traditions this gate was built by Ismail Ghazi, probably to commemorate his victory over the Oriyas[9].

Four years after Kapilendra's conquest of the province of Kondavidu, conflicting ambitions between Gajapatis and Bahamanis grew. Burhan-i-Ma'asir says that Sanjar Khan, a noble of Allauddin Ahmad II (A.D. 1436-1457) sued to capture and sell the Hindus as slaves. So the people losing faith in Bahamani Sultan asked Gajapati king of Orissa for protection. Sanjar Khan was soon involved in fighting with the 'Uriah leader of the infidels of Telingana'. The Sultan actually warned him that he should be no match in battle against the possessor of elephants. The Bahamani Sultan Alauddin Ahmad who was hard pressed by the Sultans of Khandesh and Malwa in the north and by the ruler of Vijayanagara in the south, was rather eager to seek the friendship of Kapilendradeva, who possessed a huge elephant force of two hundred thousand.[10] So Sanjar Khan did not get any help from the Bahamani Sultan and thus was easily defeated by Ganadeva Routray, the governor of Telengana, as stated in the Chavalli Copper plates grant dated A.D. 1455. As a reward for this brilliant victory Kapilendra Gajapati conferred the

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title of "Rautraya" on the victorious Governor Ganadeva[11]. This was the beginning of direct hostilities between the rising power of Orissa and Muslims of Deccan.

Humayun Shah Bahmani (A.D. 1458-61) succeeded his father Alauddin on 7 May 1458. Two rebels Jalal Khan and his son Sikandar, rebelled against his authority and were helped by the Velemna chiefs of Telingana. Humayun sent a strong force under the command of Khwaja Jahan and Nizam-ul-Mulk to chastise the Velemas. They besieged Devarakonda (in the Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh), the stronghold of the Velema chief Madaya Linga. The besieged garrison sought assistance from Kapilendra promising to pay a large sum of money. The Rai of Orissa 'from the greed of gain and for the defence of paganism' thought himself bound to assist the Hindus of Devarakonda. The Bahmani army was taken by surprise and so sudden and so unexpected was the arrival of the Orissan army under Hamavira that 'The forces of Islam were routed'[12]. Humayun wanted to march in person against the Oriyas but his attention was diverted by the revolt of his brother. Taking advantage of the situation, Hamavira put an end to the Bahmani rule over Telingana. Ferishta also admits 'Total defeat was sustained by the Muslims'. The vanquished army was pursued for ten miles[13]. There are also some references about the battle of Devarakonda in the Oriya Mahabharata written by Sarala Das, during the reign of Kapilendra Gajapati. Both Ferishta and Sarala Das agree that the Gajapati was victorious.[14]

An inscription in the fort of Warangal dated February, 1460, records the conquest of that fort by Hamivradeva Kumara Mahapatra, son of Kapilesvara Maharaya[15]. Kapilendra was now the master of almost the whole of Telengana. He knew that the Bahmanis would never reconcile themselves to the territorial loss they had substdined at his hands, and he resolved to curb their power for ever.

According to Ferishta this battle took place approximately in 864 H = A.D. 1459[16]. The Bahmanis never again attempted to conquer any part of Telingana during the life time of Kapilendra and the Muslim historians had to invent plausible excuses for

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this disgraceful defeat of the Bahmani army and the subsequent failure of Humayun Shah to retrieve the prestige of the Bahmani army.

Humayun Shah died in A.D. 1461 and was succeeded by his son Nizam Shah (A.D. 1461-1463) who was only eight years old at the time of his accession. Kapilendra siezed the opportunity and invaded the Bahmani kingdom allied with the Kakatiya chief of Warangal and in conjunction with the Zamindars of Telingana. He plundered the city of Bidar and advanced within ten miles from the capital. Ferishta writes that the Rai demanded 'the restitution of the country of Telingana'. In reply, the ministers of Nizam Shah sent Mahbub-ullah, an officer, to demand a heavy tribute from Rai 'otherwise the king would not allow a single man of the enemy to escape'. Mahbub proceeded with an escort of one hundred and sixty horsemen which boldly charged the vanguard of the Rai's army, So the Hindus thinking that the whole of Bahmani army was in motion, left their heavy baggages on the field and took shelter in a fort and sued for peace. The Rae of Orissa agreed to pay a tribute of five lakhs of silver 'Tankas'[17].

It is difficult to believe that a large army which according to Burhan-i Ma'asir, consisted of 10,000 infantry and 400 cavalry retreated before a very minor army. Ferishta himself says that the Rajas of Orissa and Telingana renewed their depredations on the "Country of Islam". It can not be, however, rejected that the Rae of Orissa failed in his attempt to take the capital, Bidar.

In the Gopinathpur temple inscription Kapilendra Deva is eulogised as the conqueror of the lion of Karnata, the conqueror of Gulbarga, the destroyer of Malwa and Delhi and as one who crushed Gauda[18]. Wa do not know whether his claims over Malwa and Delhi has any historical basis, but the proud title of the Gajapati i e Gaudesvara Navakoti-Karnata-Kalavargesvara etc., are, of course, justified[19].

There are also references in some Muslim histories to the conquest of Orissa by the Jaunpur Sultans during the reign of Kapilendra Deva Mahmud Shah (1440 58), the fourth ruler of the Sharq dynasty of Jaunpur said to have led an expedition

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against the ruler of Orissa. In Tabaqat-i-Akbari, it is stated that Mahmud advanced into the country of Orissa, with the object of Jihad and the intention of becoming a Ghazi ; and having plundered and devastating that country and pulled down and destroyed idols, temples, returned with triumph and victory and in the year 862 A.H. (A.D. 1458) he was united with the divine mercy'[20]. According to Ferishta, Mahmud Shah proceeded from Chunar about the year A.H. 848 to 'Orissa which he also reduced ; and having destroyed the temples and collected large sums of money, returned to Joonpoor'[21].

The fifth Sultan, Husain Shah, is also credited with conquest of Orissa. His expedition to Orissa is described in the Tabaqat-i-Akbari in the following way :

'As the huma (a fabulous bird) of his noble spirit had the ambition of conquering various countries in its head, he collected three hundred thousand horsemen and fourteen hundred elephants, and advaneed towards the country of Orissa. In course of the march he subjected the country of Tirhut to various calamities ; and levied tribute from refractory people of that country and its environs. When he arrived in the country of Orissa he sent detachments for plundering and ravaging the various parts of the country. The Ray of Orissa, in great distress and helplessness, made his submission, and sending an agent to wait on the Sultan prayed for the pardon of his fault and offences ; and sent thirty elephants and one hundred horses and much staff and other goods in the way of tribute. Sultan Husain returned from the country to Jaunpur crowned with victory and triumph'[22].

According to Ferishta, Husain Shah marched to Orissa after his accession. 'On reaching that province he caused his troops to disperse in detachments, in order to lay waste the country. The Rae of Orissa, unable to oppose the sudden inroad, and perceived no remedy but submission ; and in order to conciliate the invader, the Rae sent thirty elephants, and a hundred horses and various articles, including silken and other clothes ; with Hoossein Shah being satisfied he returned to Joonpur'[23].

Both the expeditions took place during the reign of Gajapati Kapilendra Deva, the most powerful king of Orissa. To think

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of invasion of his kingdom by two of the Sharqi Sultans and the timid submission of one of the most formidable powers of South India without striking even a blow is almost absurd. But all the same we can not dismiss the assertions of the Muslim historians about the invasion of Orissa. We had, so far, no positive, or even, corroborative evidence in support of the facts stated above. But a hoard of 71 copper coins of Jaunpur Sultans was discovered in A.D. 1950 at Deogarh, the headquarters of the Bamra sub-division. This constitutes the first find of Jaunpur coins in Orissa. Therefore, the present find of coins provides corroborative evidence, and herein lies its historical significance so far as history of Orissa is concerned[24].

As for Mahmud Shah's invasion, we have no other evidence except the statements of the Muslim historians. Since Orissa was famous for elephants which were greatly valued in those days for military purposes, most of the Muslim invaders of 14th and 15th centuries turned to Orissa for securing elephants for their armies. But the account relating to Husain Shah's invasion of Orissa is partly substantiated by the find of the coins. Some scholars think that the Rae of Orissa referred to is only a small chieftain, probably of Bamra, in whose capital the hoard was found. Being caught unaware by the Muslim invader, the then chief of Bamra, whose identity is yet not known, had to make submission by sending 30 elephants and 100 horses. Since Bamra was included in Orissa and its chief was one of the Samantas of the Gajapati king of Orissa, the Muslim historians credited Husain Shah with conquest of Orissa by a mere raid on its northern border. Likewise, if Mahmud Shah invaded Orissa, his activities like Husain's were confined to the hilly region of the North-West frontier of Orissa[25].

The last years of Kapilendra were marred by disputes about the succession to the throne between his sons Purusottama and Hamvira, the eldest. Hamvira sought and obtained the support of Bahmani government. The accounts of Madla Panji and the 'Gangavamsanu-Charitum', as well as those of Ferishta, the Muslim historian also refer to a war of succession among the sons of Kapilendra Deva.[26] Sultan Mohammad Shah III's

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general Malik Hassan Bheiry escorted Hamvira to the capital of Orissa, defeated Purusottama and placed Hamvira on the throne. Hassan Bheiry obtained the two districts of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu as a reward for the services rendered to Hamvira.[27] Hamvira failed to retain the throne won with the help of the Bahmanis. Hamvira was totally defeated, and Purusottama regained the throne.[28]

The story of the disputed succession may be questioned. An inscription in the temple of the Jagannath at Puri incised in the 2nd Anka of the reign of Purusottama refers to an uninterrupted reign upto A.D. 1496-97. There is no mention in the Burhan-i-Ma'asir[29] about the issue of disputed succession. But the evidence relied upon is negative. No positive evidence as to the uninterrupted reign of Purusottama Deva from A.D. 1470 to 1496-97 is available. The most remarkable fact is the absence of any inscription anywhere referring to the period from October 1472 A.D. to 1476 A.D. If the provenance of inscriptions has any bearing on the rise and fall of his (Purushottama's) fortunes and if Ferishta was giving a true picture of events of Orissa during the period, Hamvir's installation on the throne of Orissa must have been taken place sometimes after A.D. 1472.

Hamvira failed to retain the throne won with the help of the Bahmanis. He was forced to protect himself time and again against the attacks of his brother Purushottama and when the actual crisis came he found his Muslim allies in an equally helpless condition. Soon after the Orissan campaign Muhammad Shah was engaged in a conflict with Birkhana, Rae of Belgaun. On his return march to his Capital, he found the country ravaged by a severe famine. Under those conditions Muhammad Shah paid no heed to the appeal of help from his ally. Hamvira was totally defeated and his brother Purushottama regained the throne. The brothers appear to have been reconciled, as Hamvira was allowed to rule Khimidi as a vassal of Purushottama.[30]

Some other scholars have also given similar view. It is a fact that Hamvira did not get the throne and he lived at Kondavidu as a protege of Muhammad III. There is nothing to

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indicate that 'Hamira Oriyah' who led the rebellion of the garrison of Kondavidu in 1475 was a person other than the Gajapati prince. It appears, that Ferishta[81] was either wrongly informed of the accession of Hamvira or he wanted to suppress the fact that Muhammad did not keep his promise. In the second place, the silence of Burhan i-Masir by no means is a conclusive evidence to reject the story of succession. The Burhan-i-Masir is not an unimpeachable authority on the history of the relations of the Gajapati kings with the Bahmanis. It furnishes some wrong information with regard to Purushottama's war with Muhammad III.[82]

The throne of Orissa was not a bad of roses for Purushottama, because the powerful enemies who had yielded to the superior might of arms and skill of Kapilendra Deva now began to raise their heads when the strong hand of that king was withdrawn.

Ferishta's account regarding the event of the period coupled with that of Burhan-i-Masir leads us to believe that there was an Oriya invasion of the coastal region early in A.D. 1477. This invasion of Purushottama was the direct consequence of a revolt at Kondapalli against the Bahmani rule. The rebels murdered the wicked governor of the fort and invited one Oriya commander named Bhimraj of the Bahmani Sultan, to take over the fort. Probably his national feeling was aroused when he saw the Orissan empire declining rapidly. He transferred his allegiance to Purushottama Deva and invited him to recover his lost territories. Bhimraj also entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Purushottama Deva. The king of Orissa then invaded the Sultan's territory and encamped on the bank of Godavari.[83]

Niza-ul-Mulk Bahiri was sent by the Sultan to beat back the invader but he failed and retreated. Purushottama took Rajahmundry without much opposition. The Sultan now marched in person with a large army and arrived within sight of the fortress of Rajahmundry. Purushottama's governor at Rajahmundry was easily defeated and Purushottama himself was pursued far into his dominions. At his approach, Purushottama hurriedly withdrew to his own kingdom without striking a blow. Ulti-

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mately he sued for peace and the government of Rajhmundry was again bestowed upon Nizam ul-Mulk Bahiri.[34] But the Bahmani rule in Rajahmundry did not acquire a settled character. It is proved by the fact that the Sultan had to stay for more than two years, to strengthen the forts.

Ferishta writes that Muhammad III wanted to punish the Rae of Orissa who had helped the rebels of Kondavidu. It is stated that in the second part of A.H. 822 (A.D. 1477), the Sultan marched into Orissa and ravaged the country. The Rae in great distress negotiated for peace. Muhammad demanded 25 elephants, the best which his father's stable had contained. The Rae had to agree to this condition. Muhammad withdrew after obtaining the elephants.[35]

The Burhan-i-Ma'asir and the Tabaqat-i-Akbari do not allude to any such invasion of the Hindu kingdom of Orissa by Muhammad III. The Muslim chronicles seldom make such omissions. It is just possible that Purushottama concluded peace by presenting some elephants to Muhammad immediately after this retreat. Nizamuddin writes that the Rae of Orissa 'paid tribute and turned Muhammad Lashkari from all thought of him'. Muhammad, who had yet to punish the rebels of Kondavidu, remained satisfied with this tribute of elephants.[36]

Muhammad's next object was the reduction of Kondavidu which was held by Hamvira, who further provided him by plundering a portion of this territory.[37] Muhammad laid siege to the fort of Kondavidu for five months and compelled Hamvira to surrender.[38] Hamvira's career ended in tragedy[39].

Purushottama Deva had to wait till he was strong enough to regain his prestige. Fortunately for him, the Bahmani empire plunged steadfastly into confusion as a result of the murder of the great statesman Muhammad Gawan Gilani on the 5 April, 1481. According to Ferishta and Nizamuddin, his enemies forged a letter, supposed to have been written to the king of Orissa by Gawan asking the king to invade the Bahmani kingdom.[40] Muhammad bitterly repented for ordering the unjust execution of his faithful minister and followed him to grave in 1482[41]. With his death the real strength of the empire

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suddenly collapsed, and his imbecile successor Mahmud Shah was unable to bring order out of the troublous party feuds of his court. The powerful nobles asserted themselves and one by one established their independence. That situation gave Purushottama Deva opportunity to regain his lost territories.

He mobilised a huge army. Epigraphical records of the time clearly suggest that the Orissa armies not only recaptured the strategic fort of Kondavidu, but also overran the whole of the Godavari-Krishna doab including the Guntur district.[42] He seized both Rajahmundry and Kondavidu sometime before 1484, for an inscription of that year records that one of his generals, made a gift of the village Mutukumilli in the Vinukonda Taluk[43]. Thus in the beginning of his rule, Purushottama Deva lost his ancestral kingdom to the south of the river Godavari, but towards the end of his rule he was able to recover the lost territories.

The decline of the power of Orissa and the break up of its empire practically begins with the accession of Prataprudra Deva (A.D. 1497-1541). He had not the vigour of his father and grand-father. His two great Muslim opponents were Quli Qutb Shah of Golkunda in the south and Sultan Allauddin Husain Shah (A.D. 1493-1519) of Bengal in the North.

Direct danger, however, first came from the north when Sultan Husain Shah, eager to deliver a timely blow upon Orissa, took advantage of the death of Purushottama Deva and invaded Orissa, in that very year. According to 'Bhakti-Bhagavata Maha-Kavyam':

'The munificent Purushottama died on the banks of Chitropala (Verse 24). Purushottama at the end being addicted to the enjoyment of heaven, his son Rudra (Prataprudra) became Kalpataru. He was then seventeen years of age (Verse 26). While his hair was still wet with bath of corronation, he defeated the Sultan of Gauda, a conqueror of many battles and at the end of the sixty week of his father's death, he offered handfuls of Ganges water for the benefit of his father (Verse 27)[44].

Husain Shah was defeated and driven out from Orissa by Prataprudra Deva. For a long period there was no invasion

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from the side of Bengal after that incident. But the Sultan, was waiting for an opportunity. He took advantage of the absence of the Gajapati in the north, who was in the far-off south, and sent an large army in 1509 A.D. Barbosa, the Portugese traveller who visited Bengal in the 16th Century states that Orissa was for sometimes at war with the kingdom of Bangala[45]. Salim, the author of Riyaz us-Salatin says "And subduing the rayas of the surrounding reigns and conquering (countries) upto Orissa, he (Husain) imposed tribute on them"[46]. Buchanan's manuscript history gives to Husain the credit of conquering Orissa[47]. These statements find atleast a partial support in the contemporary Bengali literature which incidentally referred to the Orissa involvements of Husain Shah[48].

According to Brindaban Das, the Vaishnavite writer, in course of his war with Orissa, Husain Shah destroyed a number of Hindu temples[49]. After his renunciation, when Sri Chaitanya was proceeding from Navadipa to Puri, Ramachadnara Khan, who was probably a frontier officer of Husain Shah, informed Chaitanya of the frontier hostilities there in progress between Husain and the king of Orissa Prataprudra Deva. Therefore, Chaitanya had to depend on the Khan's help to cross the Ganges at Chhatrabhog[50]. While returning to Bengal after passing a number of years in other countries, Chaitanya was requested to wait by a frontier officer of Orissa until a truce was concluded with the Muslim king[51]. The author of Chaitanya-Charitamrita has stated at another place that Sanatan, one of the officers of Husain Shah once refused to accompany him on his expedition against Orissa, lest the Sultan should destroy the deities of Utkal[52].

There is also the mention of the invasion of Husain Shah in the Madla Panji in the following words :

'In the 17th Anka of this king (Prataprudra) the Mughal (Muslims) invaded from Bengal and occupied Cuttack. The protector of Cuttack was Bhoi Bidyadhar. He fled away to Sarangagarh. The idol of Jagannath was taken away (by the priests) in a boat and was kept in the top of the Chadaiguha mountain near Chilika lake. The Padishah of Gauda (Bengal)

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"Amura Surathana" entered Puri and destroyed the idols in the Jagannath temple. The king (Prataprudra) had gone in the southern expedition where he received this news. In anger, he covered one month's path in ten days. On receipt of this news Alapati Surathana fled away from Puri. The king pursued him upto the banks of Ganges. The Surathana took shelter in the fort of Mandaran (sub-division Jahanabad, district Hooghly) which was closely besieged. Mandaran was occupied and Surathana fled away from here, Covinda Bidyadhara joined his hands with Surathana and rebelled against the king (Prataprudra Deva). He came back with Surathana. A severe fighting took place near the fort of Mandaran. The king fought with the help of his elephants. But Covinda Bidyadhar defeated the king in the battle. The king returned back with his elephants. Then he summoned him (Govinda Bidyadhar). Covinda Bhoi met the king. The king praised him much. The king honoured him with robes, gave him the title of "Bidyadhar", made him the prime minister and handed over to him the responsibility of the state. From there Surathana returned back to his kingdom'[58].

Thus it is evident that Prataprudra was absent from his kingdom when Husain Shah invaded. But on receipt of the news he rushed to the Capital and compelled the Muslim to fall back to their fortress at Mandaran, which was also besieged by Prataprudra. Because of the teachery of Covinda Bidyadhar, one of his generals, he was forced to raise the siege and had to withdraw. Govinda Bidyadhar was the first of that group of traitors, who were partly responsible for the fall of Orissa. He betrayed Prataprudra at the moment of his victory over Husain Shah. But it is highly impossible that the king became a puppet in the hands of Govinda Bidyadhar. The facts known from the inscriptions contradict the statement of the Madla Panji. The aggression of Krishna Raya was another factor which compelled Prataprudra to raise the siege and hasten towards his southern provinces.

Thus contemporary Bengali literature as cited above and later histories like Riyaz-us-Salatin[64] refer to Husain Shah's

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war with Orissa. But unfortunately both Dr A. B. M Habibullah in the History of Bengal, Volume two and R. D Banerji in his History of Orissa, Volume one committed, in the opinion of Prof. Abdul Karim[55], a gross mistake by holding the view that Shah Ismail Ghazi, a general of Husain Shah headed his campaign against Orissa. Madla Panji, an Orissan source, quoted by both the scholars gives the name of the general as 'Surasthana'. It is difficult to understand how one can identify 'Surasthana' with Ismail Ghazi The word 'Surasthana' may at least be an Orissan corruption of Sultan Moreover, Risalat-us-Shuhada, a manuscript discovered by G. H. Damant from Kanta Dhar, Rangpur, clearly states that Ismail Ghazi (identified by the scholars as the hero of the campaign was beheaded by the order of Sultan Barbak Shah in 878 A.H[56], a date about twenty years earlier than the accession of Husain Shah. This manuscript leaves us in no doubt that Ismail Ghazi could not have become a general under Husain Shah who came to throne long after his execution. The fact may be that either the Sultan himself led his forces in his Orissan campaign or the author of the Madla Panji, because of his ignorance, of the name of the general, mentions him as Sultan.

But the inscription discovered from Sylhet, now preserved in the Dacca Museum and published by H. E. Stapelton clearly states that Rukn Khan, a general of Husain Shah, headed the army in his Orissan campaign.[57]

M. M. Chakravarti has identified this 'Amura Surathana' Amir Sultan with "Ismail Ghazi, a general of Bengal Nawab".[58] R D Banerji (History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 327) and Dr. A. B. Habibullah (The History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 148) have depended on his statement. Ismail a commander under Husain Shah, should not be confused wtth Ismail Ghazi, the warrior-saint of Mandaran, who served under Barbak Shah. There is no evidence to corroborate the assumption that Ismail led a raid into Orissa. The word 'Surathana' is a corrupt form of the word Sultan. Prataprudra styled himself as the protector of Suratrana Husain Shah, in one of the colophons of the 'Sarasvati Vilasam'. "Hinduraya Suratrana" was a popular title in South India. Fur-

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ther, the "Chaitanya Bhagavat" distinctly states that Husain Shah destroyed a number of temples in the country of the Oriyas.[59] We learn from the "Chaitanya Charitamitra" that the Muslim king led an expedition against the Oriyas".[60]

Thus Madla Panji corroborates the account of Vaishnava literature about the hostility between the Sultan of Bengal Husain Shah and Prataprudra It has also been corroborated by the accounts of Kataka-Raja-Vansavali (India Office Mss. Aufrecht) written in Sanskrit. According to this account :

'At this time in the 17th year of the reign of the king (Prataprudra Deva) the Mahammadans called the Moguls encamped near Kataka. Ananta Samantaraya, the protector of the fort of Kataka, leaving it stayed at Saranga-gada.' The four idols of Sri Jagannath were placed in a boat and were secured on the hill called Chadhayi-guha, situated in the middle of the water called Chilka The leader of the Moguls Asasana Sthanu (Hussain Shah) coming to subdue the southern province heard of this and returned'.[61]

The sources cited above gives us an unconnected account of Husain's war with Orissa and clearly shows that the hostility between the two countries was of chronic nature which continued from A.D. 1497 to 1518. They do not help us in forming a definite idea about the ultimate results of this long drawn conflict.[62] The Sylhet inscription of Husain Shah dated 914 A H. = A.D 1512 as cited before throws some light on this event.[63]

The expression 'the conquest of Kamru, Kamtah, Jaznagar and Orissa' which appears on Husain Shah's coins dated variously[64] is also found in this inscription. Considering that Orissa was under Prataprudra Deva, who was a powerful ruler, it is difficult to settle the issue whether Husain Shah was successful in conquering Orissa. Tarafdar observes that at the present stage of our knowledge, these queries can not be satisfactorily answered But it seems that Husain could atleast attain a temporary success in his Orissan expedition.[65] The opinion of Tarafdar is supported by the fact that the coins and inscriptions of the Sultan describe him as the conqueror of Orissa. This is also supported by the manuscript history of Bengal by Buhnan

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Hamilton at Pandua. Bengali sources also depict Husain as breaking temples and deities in Orissa. All these evidences seem to indicate that Husain occupied a part of Orissa atleast temporarily. This contention is born out by the Velicherla Copper plate inscription of Prataprudra Deva dated 1430 Saka = A.D. 1510. We learn from this inscription that Prataprudra recovered his lost territory from the king of Gauda, who was defeated by him. Then he assumed the title 'Pancha-Gauda-Adhinayaka' or the 'Overlord of the Five Gaudas'[66]. In his Sarasvati Vilasam (a code of Hindu law), Prataprudra calls himself 'Husana sahi-surathan saranara-kshyana'[67] from which it is apparent that Prataprudra put down the Sultan of Bengal and Pardoned him.

The Biographies of Chaitanya enable us to determine the results of the campaign. Chaitanya left Bengal in January A.D. 1510. He crossed the Ganga at Chhatrabhog where the river spread itself into several branches and reached the country of Utkala.[68] Chaitanya came to Puri in A.D. 1512 and stayed there for two years. In the autumn of 1514. he set out for Virundavana. When he reached the northern boundary of Orissa, he was told that 'the territories of the Yavana kings extend upto Pichhalda. None dares to cross the river (Mantresvara)'.[69]

To sum up, the north-western frontier of Orissa extended upto the Hughli delta in A.D. 1510. But in the autumn of 1514, Pichhalda on the Rupnarayana was the last out-post of Muslim Bengal. Thus between A.D. 1510 and 1514, Husain Shah seized from the Gajapati of Orissa, a narrow strip of territory extending from Chhatrabhog to Pichhalda, about fifty miles in length[70]. Therefore, Husain Shah's invasion of Orissa was a mere raid. Beyond a possible recovery of Mandaran (by Husain Shah) the campaign could not have produced any substantial result.

Husain Shah died in A.D. 1519 and was succeeded by his son Qutub Shah. He once again invaded Orissa to take revenge of his father's defeat. Prataprudra returned from Rajhmundry and fought a severe battle with Qutub Shah. A large number of soldiers were slain in this battle. The Sultan of Bengal was totally defeated and signed a treaty of friendship with Prataprudra. Thereafter

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Prataprudra returned to his capital Cuttack.[71] After that defeat the Muslims of Bengal during the life time of Prataprudra and after his death till the time of Mukunda Deva never again had dared to invade Orissa.

No sooner had the northern invasion of Husain Shah been warded off, there came the southern invasion of Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara. Krishnadevaraya invaded Orissa and captured Udayagiri in A.D. 1514, and marched against Kondavidu which occupied a strategic position in the Orissan empire. Prataprudra hastened towards the fort to save it from the enemies. But he was defeated by the army of Krishnadevaraya and Kondavidu was surrendered to the victorious emperor of Vijayanagara.[72]

The inscription of Krishnadevaraya furnish the list of officials and other persons of the Gajapati monarch who were taken captive by him in the fort of Kondavidu. Among the captives there were two Muslims known as Malla Khan and Udanda Khan of Raichur[73]. Those two generals seem to be the officials under Sultan Adil Shah of Bijapur. R. D. Banerji[74] has criticised Prataprudra for taking help of a Muslim ruler while fighting against a Hindu King. But it may be said in his defence that Prataprudra made a political friendship with the Muslim ruler to protect his territories. Religious considerations did not arise in that case, for Vijayanagara kingdom was a common enemy of both Orissa and Bijapur.

The Musalman peril was getting stronger in another direction. After the dismemberment of the Bahmani empire, the Qutbshahi kingdom of Golconda was growing stronger on the eastern coast and Sultan Quli, Qutb Shah was striving his utmost to regain the lost domination of the Musalmans over that area. He had declared his independence in A.D. 1512 and began to consolidate his power over Telingana So long Krishnadevaraya was on the scene, Sultan Quli remained quiet. Ferishta states that Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda captured some portions of Orissa, between Kondavidu and Simachalam.[75] But in view of the campaigns of Krishnadevaraya, it is difficult to rely upon the accounts of this historian. If, however, Sultan Quli actually conquered any territory in this part, he must have done so after the conclusion of treaty between

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Orissa and Vijayanagara in 1519.[76] This view has also been supported by other scholars.[77]

An inscription at Malkapuram in Bezwada Taluk dated A.D. 1523-24 points to the extension of Quli Qutb's power to the coastal region by that time.[78] This was only a temporary phase, because Prataprudra was on the banks of the Krishna in A.D. 1526, and built a temple at Mangalagiri as attested by a record of his at Undavalli.[79] Sultan Quli evidently suffered a defeat. Prataprudra Gajapati is known to have invaded Vijayanagara soon after the death of Krishnadevaraya, which event occurred sometime between 27 October 1529 and 28 December 1529. So this invasion must have been led during the early months of A.D. 1530. An inscription at Kondapalli dated S 1452 (A.D. 1530-31) states that Sultan Quli invaded the east-coast once again after Prataprudra returned after the invasion of Vijayanagara and took possession of the Kondapalli region.[80]

In spite of his early reverses, Prataprudra was successful in maintaining peace and order in his empire. But immediately after his death, Orissa became just like a ship without a radder and plunged into the whirlpool of anarchy and confusion. Two of his sons, whom we know by their nick-names as Kaludeva an Kakharuadeva ruled one after another only for one year and eight months, and both of them fell victims to the treachery of the notorious Govinda Vidyadhara, who usurped the throne.[81] Thus after the fall of the Suryavansis, Orissa went to the hands of Govinda Vidyadhara, the founder of the Bhoi dynasty. He was no doubt efficient. But he was faced with equally ambitious and treacherous subordinates to obtain the throne. He was paid back in his own coins.

The anonymous historian quoted by Ferishta informs that 'Yusand (properly called Veija Nath) Dew commonly called Gajapati who possessed the countries of Bengal along the sea-coast as far as the confines of Telingana, hearing of the discomfiture of Ramchunder, sent ambassador to Sultan Quly. A treaty was concluded, by which Godavari became the boundary between Golkunda and Orissa'.[82] Among the rulers who succeeded Prataprudra Gajapati, there is no ruler by the name of

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Veija Nath Dew except one Govinda Vidyadhara. R. Subrahmanyam, comes to the conclusion that it may not be improbable if this Veija Nath was a corruption of the name Govinda Vidyadhara.[83] According to Madla Panji, the Sultan of Golconda invaded Orissa in the 7th Anka or the 6th year of his reign.[84] R.D. Banerji, states that this invasion was by Jamshid Quli Qutb Shah in A. D. 1543-1550 period.[85] But this view has been rejected by Sreeram Sarma. According to him it was accomplished during the reign of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah.[86] Thus, the conquests of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah extending over a period of sixty years, during which period, he was a general of the Bahmani Sultans, governor and finally an independent ruler need close scrutiny. Such scrutiny reveals that Telingana was conquered during the period A.D. 1519-1531, and the Krishna-Godavari region was conquered between A.D. 1535-1543.

P. Mukherji has identified Vusand Dew with Visvanath Deo the chief of Nandapur (in the Koraput district).[87] But due to the lack of evidence, it is difficult to accept this identification.

However, when the Sultan of Golconda invaded Orissa from the south, Govinda Vidyadhara went to meet him. He remained in the south for eighteen months whereafter he suddenly returned to north Orissa due to some internal troubles. It is stated in Madla Panji that during his absence his nephew (sister's son)[88] Raghu Bhanja Chhotarai rose in rebellion, and assisted by an ally named Abdul Shah of Bengal.[89] Hearing the news of this revolt, Govinda hurried to the capital leaving an officer Danai Vidyadhara in charge of the operations against the Sultan of Golconda. Raghu Bhanja and his ally retreated at his approach. They were chased and defeated.[90]

This account of Madla Panji has been corroborated by the extract from some Muslim accounts :

'Quli Qutb Shah of Golkonda made war on Orissa and inflicted a severe defeat on the Gajapati king in a battle near Rajahmundry. The king of Orisa sued for peace and ceded to Golkonda the whole of the territory between the Godavari and Krishna river.[91]

The above description which Sewell gives from the persian source fully supports the accounts of Madla Panji and justifies the

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need of Govinda Vidyadhara's presence in the south for a long period of eighteen months, and also his clash with Golconda, which, according to him took place in A D. 1540.

According to the calculation the year 1540 falls on the 9th Anka or 7th regnal year of Govinda. Madla Panji says that he went to the south or to Golconda during his 7th Anka year. His presence at Simanchalam on 11 July 1539 (8th Anka) is known from an inscription which supports Madla Panji[92].

It is clear that in A D. 1540, for the first time, Orissa lost a portion of her kingdom in the south lying between the rivers Godavari and Krishna. From that time Simanchalam remained as the southern boundary of Orissa as is clear from the five inscriptions of Govinda Vidyadhara issued in his 3rd, 4th, 5th and 8th Anka years[93].

Govinda Vidyadhara died in A.D. 1549. He styled himself, in his inscriptions, as 'Vira Sri Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kala Vargesvara'. But in reality it was 'high sounding nothing'. Govinda Vidyadhara was succeeded, according to Madla Panji, by his son Chakrapratap, who ruled for 8 years. He was at last murdered by his son Narasimha Jena. After a short time a plot against Narasimha Jena was woven out by Mukunda Harichandan, who was the general of Chakrapratap and governor of Katak under Govinda Vidyadhara. The plot culminated in the murder of Narasimha Jena and the accession of Mukunda Deva to the throne of Orissa in A.D. 1559.[94] The usurper's strong and able hands kept the anarchy down for a time.

The long record of treachery and murders came to a temporary halt with the accession of Mukunda Harichandan. In spite of his mean treachery history has preserved a soft cornor for him for the bravery he showed to retain the independence of the country against enormous odds. He was the last independent king of Orissa and he feel fighting for the motherland, a fact which has washed away all his misdeeds.

But before he succeeded in making himself secure on the throne of Orissa, the northern part of the country was captured by the Musalmans of Bengal. In 1560, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah of the Sur dynasty of Bengal had conquered northern Orissa as far as

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Jajpur and established a mint at that place. Only one coin of that mint has been discovered. That silver coin with the mint mark of Jajpur[95] shows that the Mohammadan king of Bengal assisted in A.D. 1560. Raghubhanja Chhotaraya in his invasion of Orissa; and the coin was struck apparently when on the march to Kataka. Mukunda Deva, however defeated Raghubhanja, and imprisoned him. If the Madla Panji is to be believed then Mukunda Harichandan drove out the Musalmans.[96]

Mukunda Deva was a man of exburant energy. He would have succeeded in maintaining the independence of the country had he not been surrounded by traitors on all sides. His short reign of eight years was spent in continual warfare and the last Hindu King of Orissa died on the battlefield. Mukunda Deva willingly and knowingly was entangled in the warfare that was then going on in the field of politics between the Mughals and Afghans.

After the death of Islam Shah, his uncle Muhammad Adil Shah occupied the throne of Delhi. But against him all the provincial Afghan rulers rose in rebellion. At this Ibrahim Khan Sur, ruler of Bengal declared independence and captured the throne of Delhi. Sikander Shah, the ruler of Punjab, started a campaign against Ibrahim and defeated him in 1554. Ibrahim fled away from Delhi. For the second time, he was defeated by Adil Shah. But Adil Shah was defeated by Humayun in A.D. 1555. After a rule of three months, Humayun died and his son Akbar became the Mughal Padshah of Delhi.

Meanwhile, Ibrahim, being defeated for the second time by Adil Shah, came to Bengal. But Sulaiman Karrani, the then Afghan ruler of Bengal thinking him to be his rival tried to imprison him. Ibrahim then fled away to Orissa. Thus Ibrahim Sur, the luckless rival of Adil Shah, after his failure everywhere had finally sought asylum in Orissa in about A.D. 1559. Unfortunately for Orissa, Mukunda Deva gave an honourable shelter to his Afghan refugee and he was granted some lands by the Rajah for his maintenance. Mukunda Deva also refused to surrender him to the Sultan of Bengal.[97]

On this incident centred the misfortune of Orissa. Ibrahim had gone out of Sulaiman's reach only to remain as a perpetual menace

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to his throne. The Sultan of Bengal became an irreconcilable enemy of the King of Orissa. That the Musalman army had been once defeated by Mukunda Deva was already in itching sore to Sulaiman Karrani. The flight of his rival to the capital of Orissa and the friendly reception accorded to him there only added insult to the injury. Mukunda Deva had once penetrated to Satganow (near Hughli) in South Bengal and there built a ghat on the Ganges which has been mentioned in Madla Panji. To all these factors was added the diplomatic move of Akbar who wanted to use the king of Orissa as an important power in his political chess-board.

Thus while Akbar, the Mughal Emperor was planning the conquest of Bengal, he considered it necessary to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive with Mukunda Deva in order to attack the Afghans from both sides. Moreover, Ali Quli Khan Zaman, a son of Akbar's one of the officials, rose in futile rebellion and became a menace to the throne of Delhi. At last he came to Bengal to seek the assistance of Sulaiman. To prevent this alliance, Akbar required the help of Mukunda Deva and wanted to establish diplomatic relations with him. In 1565 A.D., Akbar sent Hasan Khan Khajanchi and Bhatta Mahapatra, an Oriya musician of the Mughal Court, as envoys to the court of Mukunda Deva to enlist his support in case of a conflict with the Sultan of Bengal. Mukunda Deva 'bound the gridle of service on the waist of his soul' and represented that if Sulaiman would not submit to Akbar, 'he would collect an army and bring Ibrahim, who was Sulaiman's enemy, against Bengal. He would do such things to Sulaiman that he would be a warning to all strife-mongers'.[98] Akbar's envoys also requested Mukunda Deva not to give shelter to rebel Ali Quli Khan Zaman.[99] The envoys remained in the court of Mukunda Deva for four months and were sent back with costly presents and some elephants. At the same time Mukunda Deva's ambassador, Parmanand accompanied them to the Imperial Court.[100]

The move of the Emperor Akbar diverted the attention of Sulaiman Karrani and warded off the danger of combination of the Sultan of Bengal and the rebel, Ali Quli Khan. On the other hand it proved disastrous for Mukunda Deva and Orissa. Because

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the alliance with Akbar could not save Mukunda Deva from the approaching downfall as the Emperor remained too busy to render him any effective assistance against Sulaiman Karrani. Mukunda's friendship with Akbar led to the growth of enemity between Mukunda Deva and Karrani,[101] who was provoked to launch campaigns against Orissa in the opportune moment. On the other hand, it emboldened Mukunda Deva to plunder a strip of Sultan's territory, This added fuel to the fire.[102]

A stone inscription of Maharaja Mukunda Deva Gajapati is found on the Bhimesvara temple at Draksharam, situated in the Ramachandrapur Taluk of the eastern Godavari district, The inscription was engraved in the 10th Anka year of Mukunda Deva and contains description of Mukunda Deva's victory over the Sultan of Bengal in the tenth year of his reign. It says :

'Hail (Let prosperity be granted by the gods) Sri Ganadhipati (and) Sri Bhimesvara, In the 10th Anka year of the prosperous (and) victorious reign of Vira Sri Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnnata Kaluvarigesvara Sri Vira Mukunda Gajapati Maharaja, on the 5th day of Makara (and) the 7th tithi of the dark fortnight, the Thursday, the Maharaja Vira Sri Mukunda Deva (after achieving victory over the Gauda country) after granting liberty to charities (Shodasa-Mahadanda) together with the grant of (his own) body wight of pearls (Mutyalutulapurusha) at the holy banks of Ganges, while victoriously ruling over the kingdom, sitting on the throne at Cuttack (Kataka , remitted the levy on the marriage-tax imposed on the subjects of Rajamahendravaraph-Dandapata (province) which consisted of 21 divisions (including the owns of Balinja, Pekkandr etc., as hitherto has been promised before (the Lord) Jagannath at Sri Purushottama (Puri) for the religious merits of his grand-father (Tata) Singaraja, his father (Tandri) Sarvaraja, his mother (Talli) Sarvadevi (and) Himself...[103].

The date mentioned in the inscription corresponds to the 2 January (Thursday) 1567.[104] In the view of S. N. Rajguru[105], it is very interesting to note here that Mukunda Deva granted the 'Tulapurusha dana' which is according to Dharmasatras, one of the sixteen 'Mahadana's. From the nature of the sixteen 'Mahadanas'

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it is quite evident that Mukunda Deva must have acquired, by conquest of Bengal, a very large amount of wealth which he distaibuted among the learned Brahmans on the banks of the Ganges (the Hughly). This victory of Mukunda Deva in Bengal took place immediately before the incesion of this inscription, on the 2 January, 1567.

Madla Panji gives the following account of Mukunda Deva : 'After this, the kingship of Orissa passed to the hands of the Chalukyas. Mukunda Harichandana became the king. He worshipped the Brahmanas and gods···. In the 10th Anka-year he attacked the country lying on the banks of the Ganges. Having obtained friendship with the Padshah of Delhi, he became an enemy of the Muslim Kings of Gauda. He performed a naval-sporting (Navakeli) in the Ganges. Having received that news the king of Gauda immediately proceeded to fight with him...'.[106]

From the inscription of Draksharam it is known that Mukunda Deva could achieve a great victory at Gauda in his 10th Anka year, i.e., before the 2nd January, A.D. 1567 when that inscription was incised. Therefore, it is likely this victory over Gauda must have been accomplished sometime between 27 August 1566 and 2 January 1567. The 'Madla Panji' says that he enjoyed some naval sports in the Ganges where the Muslim king of Gauda (Sulaiman) attacked him. But from the account of Draksharam inscription it is proved otherwise, Actually he achieved a great victory in Bengal, whereafter he gave shelter to the King of Gauda and distributed his body weight of Pearls and the sixteen Mahadanas on the banks of the Ganges (Hughly). After this he went to Puri, where, before the god Jagannath, he made some promises to exempt the inhabitants of his paternal country, Rajamahendra-varam, from paying the marriage-tax ; and that promise of him was announced in his inscription of Draksharam, near Rajahmundry on the 2 January, A.D. 1567. Therefore, there is no scope for him to face any aggressive action from the side of the Muslims of Gauda, immediately after his visits to the banks of the Ganges, as is stated in the 'Madla Panji'[107].

However, Akbar being free from the danger from the side of Sulaiman, the ruler of Bengal, engaged himself in the conquest of

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Chittor. Taking advantage of Akbar's preoccuption in the siege of far-off Chittor, Sulaiman planned for an attack of Orissa. The 'Madla Panji' says that (as stated above) in the 10th Anka Mukunda Deva encamped on the banks of the Ganges and indulged in military practice in boats on the river. This was the last time when the Orissa army reached the banks of the Ganga (Hughly).[108] Sulaiman Karrani of Bengal, now realised the danger, and he marched against Orissa in the winter of A D. 1568.

The Afghan army was divided into two parts, the first was laid by Sulaiman himself and the second under the command of his son Bayazid, assisted by Kala Pahar. The Bengal army proceeded through the highlands of Mayurbhanj and entered the coastal area near Balasore. In this critical situation, Mukunda did not receive any help from the Mughals. Mukunda Deva deputed two of his officers Chhotarai and Raghubhanja[109] to meet the invaders. But those two traitors reduced the troops from their loyalty and turned to attack their own master. Thus, Mukunda Deva had to fight alone, but could not withstand the pressure of the Bengal army. He was forced to take shelter in the fort of Kotisima on the western bank of the Damodar river, in the district of Hughly. The Bengal army under the command of Kala Pahar unexpectedly appeared before the gates of Cuttack. The fort of Cuttack surrendered after a heroic resistance by Kontisanta Singhar, a general of Mukunda Deva. At that critical time, Ramachandra Bhanja, the commander of Sarangagarh, declared himself the king of Orissa. When the news reached the besieged king Mukunda Deva at Kotisima, he patched up a treaty with Sulaiman Karrani and hastened back to Cuttack[110].

Madla Panji and Akbarnama give different views regarding the final defeat and death of Mukunda Deva. Madla Panji says that Mukunda Deva was beheaded by Ramachandra Bhanja in the battle that took place after the peace treaty with Sulaiman. Next Ramachandra Bhanja was killed by the forces of the Sultan on the same day. After this episode Raghu Bhanja declared himself as the king of Orissa. But he was also killed by Sulaiman Karrani[111]. On the other hand, Akbarnama says that Mukunda Deva was killed in the battle, that took place with Durga Bhanja.[112] Be

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that as it may, Orissa's last Hindu ruler was put to death by his own conntry men. Orissa now passed into Muslim possession in spite of local risings here and there.

The final blow to the crumbling edifice was dealt by one of the generals of Bayazid, the bigoted Illahbad Kalapahar, who is remembered in the tradition as a renegde Hindu and has earned the greatest notoriety among all the Muslim invaders of Orissa, as a cruel iconoclast and destroyer of the temple of Jagannath.

Thus ended Orissa's medieval independence in A.D. 1568. Henceforward, Orissan prestige was doomed, local kings became mere puppets in the hands of the Muslim gevernors. R. D. Banerji has held Chaitanya responsible for the political delcine and ultimate fall of Orissa.[113] But this view has been discarded by some other scholars.[114] Fall of Orissa was mainly due to internal treachery and weak successors. The decline of Orissa was more due to political than religious causes. It seems at once logical when an overall view of the Muslim invasions of Orissa is taken with definite precision. Thus one can safely conclude that it was not Vaishnavism but medieval diplomacy which was the real cause of the conquest of Orissa twenty eight years after Prataprudra. It, no doubt adds glory to Orissa that although the Muslim rule was established in India by the end of twelfth century A D., Orissa could defend herself from the onslaughts of the Muslim invasion for more than three hundred years. Rise of Muslim power was definitely a potent factor to snatch away the independence of Orissa at last.

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2. *J A.S B*, LXII (1893), pp. 91f.
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5. *Mukherji, P.*, 'The Gajapati Kings of Orissa', p. 28.

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6. *J.A.S.B* (18'4), 216.
7. *J. & P. A. S. B.*, 1909, "Notes on Gaud and other places by M. M. Chakravarti.
8. *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 131.
9. *Mukherji, P.*, op.cit., p. 28.
10. *I.A.*, XVIII, 27.
11. *Chavalli Copper plate*, I.A. XX, 390.
12. *Burhan i-Ma'asir*, I.A., XXVIII, 204.
13. *Briggs*, Vol. II, p. 457.
14. *J.A.H.R.S.*, XXV, (1958-60), pp. 19ff.
15. Another inscription, incised along with Hamriva's epigraph on the same day, mentions the name of Raghudeva Narendra Mahapatra, son of Parasurama Devaraya of Suryavansa. (The *Mackenzie manusripts*, 15-4-4). Jagarao Tippa won a victory over the Yavanas outside the fort of Khambammatta, in the presence of Amva Raya, (*The Mackenzie manuscripts*, 15-4-4). It is stated in the Velicheria plates of Pratap Rudra (lines 8-9) that Kapilendra "stormed the citadels of Telingana". (Vide the *Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, f.n. p, 31).
16. *Briggs*. op,cit,
17. *Briggs*, Vol. II, pp. 466ff. Briggs translation does not mention the amount of tribute. The authors of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari (De, Vol. III, p. 87) and the Burhan-i-Ma'asir (*I.A.*, XXVIII, 277) corroborate the main incident, namely, the successful attack of Mahbub-ullah with 160 horsemen on the vanguard of the Rae's army. They also make no mention of the payment of tribute.
18. *J A S B.*, LXII, (1893). pp. 91f.
19. *O.H.R.J*, III, No. 4, p. 174.
20. *T.A.*, Vol. III, p. 458.
21. *Briggs.*, Vol. IV, p. 369.
22. *T.A.*, op.cit., pp. 459f.
23. *Briggs.*, op.cit. p. 37[illegible].
24. *O.H.R.J.*, II, No.2 (1953), pp. 49ff.
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26. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 174.
27. *Briggs.*, Vol. II, p. 495.
28. *J.A.H.R.S.*, XXV, pp. 19 ff.
29. *I.A.*, XXVIII, p. 285.
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33. *Briggs.*, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 495.
34. *T.A.*, Vol. III, pp. 102ff. ; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir.*, I.A., Vol. XXVIII, 1899, pp. 288ff.
35. *Briggs.*, Vol. II, p. 495.
36. *T.A.*, op.cit., p. 104.
37. "News was brought that the men of Orissa had come back and had overrun some villages and had taken a fort by fraud and deceit". Muhammad started towards Kandar and forced the 'Thanadar' (i.e. Hamvira Uriyah) to submit. (*T.A.*, op.cit., pp. 104-105). These men of Orissa were the soldiers of Hamvira Uriyah whose stronghold was Kandar. Purushottama had by that time made peace with Muhammad III. (Vide '*The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, p. 53, f.n. 105).
38. *Briggs.*, Vol. II, p. 495. Ferishta gives a wrong date of the reduction of Kondavidu. According to him the fort was reduced in 882 A.H.=A.D. 1477 (*Ibid.*, p. 497). But Azizullah writes that immediately after the reduction of Kondavidu, the Sultan proceeded against Narsingh Ray in 1481 (*Burhan-i-Maasir*, I.A., Vol. XXVIII, 1899, p. 189) Nizamuddin aggees with him though he does not give the date. (*T.A.*, op.cit., p. 104).
39. Abandoned by Muhammed after his purpose had been served, the unfortunate prince (Hamvira) sought help from his brother Purushottama who had deprived him of the throne which legitimately belonged to him. Hamvira now wanted from Purushottama only a fraction of the territory over which he was destined to rule as the eldest son of Kapilendra. Purushottama proceeded southwards and crossed the river Godavari

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on his way to Kondavidu. But he changed his mind and withdrew to his kingdom. For four years Hamvira defied the authority of the Sultan. At last Kondavidu was besieged and Hamvira was forced to surrender to the enemy after a stiff resistance. What happened to him afterwards, is not known to us. (Vide, *The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, p. 54)

40. *T.A.*, op.cit., p. 107 ; *Briggs.*, op.cit., p. 506 ; *Sherwani. N. M.*, Mahmud Gawan, pp. 170ff.
41. *Briggs.*, op.cit. Vol. II, p. 518 ; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, I.A., 1899, p; 292.
42. *Sewel*, A Sketch of South Indian Dynasties, p. 48 ; *J,A.S.B.* (1900), LXIX, p. 183 ; *E.I.*, XIII, pp. 155ff.
43. *J A.H R.S.*, XXVIII, (1962-63), pp. 5ff.
44. *O.H.R.J.*, I, No, 3. 223.
45. *The Book of Dharte Borbosa*, Vol. II, p. 134.
46, *Riyaz*, p.133.
47. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. II, p. 619.
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49. Das, Brindaban, *Chaitanya-Bhagabat*, antya, Ch. IV, pp. 350-351 ; *I.H.Q*, XXXII (March, 1956), No. I, p. 62, f.n.18.
50. Das, Brindaban, *op.cit*, antya-II, p.316 ; *I.H Q.*, op.cit., 62, f.n 19.
51. Krishnadas, Kaviraj, *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, Madhya, XIV, p. 179.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 200ff.
53. *Madla Panji*, pp. 52f.
54. *Riyaz*, p. 132 states that "Alauddin Husain Shah of Bengal conquered all the kingdoms between Gaur and Orissa."
55. Karim, Abdul, '*A Note on Husain Shah's campaign and a study of his character*', vide Proceedings of Pakistan History Conference, 5th session, 1955, p. 224.
56. *J.A.S.B*, 1870, p. 117.
57. *J.A S.B*, 1922, p. 413. The inscription states :
"This building (has been erected by) Ruku Khan, the

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conqueror of Hasht Camhriyan, who being Wazir and General for many months at the time of the conquest of Kamru, Kamata, Jajnagar and Urisha, severved in the army in several places in the train of the king (written) in the year 918".

58. *Ibid*, (1900), p. 186.
59. *Chaitanya Bhagavat*, Vol. III, 67 & 78.
60. *Ibid*, Vol. II, 19.
61. *O.H.R.J.*, I-No. 3, 225.
62. Tarafdar, M R., *op.cit.*, p, 51.
63. *J.A.S.B.*, 1922, pl. IX, p. 413.
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65. Tarafdar, M. R., *op.cit*, pp. 51 f.
66. *S.I.I.*, No.12, of 1920-21.
67. *Sarasvati Vilasam*, edited by Shama Shastri.
68. *Chaitanya Bhagavata*, III. 2. 150 The main stream of the Ganga flowed at that time through the present beds of the Hughli (upto Kidderpore) and the Adiganga to the sea. Chhatrabhog situated about 25 miles of south-west of Calcutta on the Adiganga. (vide '*The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, p. 76, f.n. 145).
69. *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, I, 16. It is stated in the Chaitanya Chandrodaya (IX. 26) that Chaitanya was advised not to cross the river Mantresvar till the conclusion of peace with the Yavana king. Kavi Karnapur's statement shows that the hostile relations between the two kingdoms continued even after 1511, though the war had practically ended by that time.

Pisolta (Pichhalda) is mentioned in the map of De Barros (C. R. Wilson : 'Topography of the Hughli river in the 16th century, J.A.S B, 1892, p. 112), Pichhalda is situated on the southern bank of the Rupnarayan about 12 miles from its confluence with the Hughli (Vide *The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, p. 76, f.n. 146).

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80 *S I.I*, Vol. X, No. 743 ; *J.A.H.R S.*, XXVIII (1962 63), pp. 5 ff.

81. *Madla Panji*, p. 56.

82. *Sardar-i-Jahan*, Briggs, Vol. III, p. 364.

83. *J.A.H.R.S.*, XXVIII (1962), pp. 5 ff.

84. *Madla Panji*, p. 57.

85. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 338 f.

86. *J.A.H.R.S.*, XXVIII (1962), pp. 5 ff.

87. *The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, pp. 88 f.

88 It appears that Raghu Bhanja was the nephew of Prataprudra and not Govinda Vidyadhara. According to the "Bhanja Vamsa Malika" of Mayurbhanj, one Jagannath Bhanja married the sister of Prataprudra and received Baripada Dandapata as dowry. Raghu was probably his son, claimed the throne of Orissa after the death of Prataprudra's sons.
(Vide '*The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*', p. 108, f.n. 200).

89. Sher Shah died on 24 May, 1545 and had been succeeded by his son Islam Shah, under whom Bengal and Bihar were included in the Afghan empire of Delhi. There was no independent Musalman kingdom in Bengal and Bihar

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till Islam Shah's death in A.D. 1553. Raghu Bhanja Chhotaraya had therefore rebelled with the help of either Muhammad Khan Sur or any of his predecessors. (Vide R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 359).

90 *Madla Panji*, p. 57.

91. Sewell, '*Historical Inscriptions of South India*', p. 248.

92. *O.H.R.J.*, V-No. 4 (1956), 221-22.

93. *Ibid*, pp. 217ff.

94. *Madla Panji*, p. 59.

95. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan King of Delhi*, p. 417 ; *J.A S B.*, LXIX (1900), p. 189.

96. *Madla Panji*, p 59.

97. In this connection Abul Fazl writes as follows : "Whenever any of the competitors for Bengal took refuge with the Rajah of Jagannath, the ruler of Bengal could not lay hands on him. For example, Ibrahim Sur took refuge with the Rajah of Jagannath and the latter assigned him a tract of Orissa for his subsistence. Though Sulaiman Karrani exerted himself, he could not put him down. On the contrary he was continually alarmed by him". Vide *A.N.* (Bev), Vol. II, p. 381.

98. *A N*, op.cit., p. 382.

99. *Muntakhabat-Tawarikh* (Eng. trans. by Lowe), Vol. II. p. 77.

100. *A.N.*, op.cit., p. 282.

101. In this connection *Madla Panji* (p. 63) says : '(Mukunda Deva) established friendship with the Padshah of Delhi. So became the enemy of the Sultan of Gaud (Bengal)'.

102. "The Rajah (Mukunda) did naval practice in the river Ganges. This information was received by the Padshah of Gauda. He marched ahead (towards Orissan territory) with a number of soldiers". (Vide *Madla Panji*, p. 63).

103. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. VI, Part II, pp. 12-13.

104. Pillai, S., Indian Ephemeris, Vol. V, p. 336.

105. *O.H.R.J*, Vol. VI Part I, pp. 13-14 & 22-23.

106. *Madla Panji*, p p. 59f.

107. *O.H.R.J.*, VI, Part I, 22-23.

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108. A bathing ghat on the Hughli (which was the main stream of the Ganga at that time) at Triveni is still associated with the name of Mukunda Deva. He built this ghat probably to commemorate his achievement. He also performed the 'Tulapurusha' and other ceremonies as stated in his inscription in the Bhimesvara temple at Draksharama. Though the Suryavansi kings extended their north-east frontier upto Hughli delta, Triveni remained under Muslim possession, as testified by two Muslim inscriptions of Satgaon dated 1486 and 1505 A.D. (Vide : *The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, p. 113, f.n. 210).

"The Orissan conqueror Mukunda Deva" writes R. D. Banerji "Built the spacious flight of steps even now existing. To him is also attributed the building of the great embankment on which the road from Magra to Triveni has been laid. The influenee of Orissa is still prominent at Triveni. The majority of the attendants in the small group of shrines clustering the ghat are Oriyas". ('*Saptagram or Satgaon*', *J.&B.A.S.B.*, 1909, 257).

Blochmann also praises "the high and broad Triveni ghat a magnificent flight of steps said to have been built by Mukunda Deva—the last Gajapati of Orissa". (Vide : '*Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Hughli district*', J.A.S.B., 1870, 282).

109. In the History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 183, Sir Jadunath Sarkar has suggested the variants to Beveridge's reading of the names of these two officers as Durga Panj and Jhanta Rai. It is evident that Abul Fazl missed the name of the other officer and gave him the title by which Raghu Bhanja was known. This officer appears to be Ramachandra Bhanja. According to Madla Panji, he turned traitor and fought with Mukunda Deva. Both of them were killed.

Abul Fazl's account shows that the Raja sent Raghu Bhanja at liberty and sent him with another officer, probably Ramachandra Bhanja, to oppose Bayazid who was marching towards the capital through Mayurbhanj.

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Mukunda Deva chose these Bhanja officers because of their familiarity with Bhanja region. But they had no mind to serve Mukunda Deva and took up arms against him. Raghu Bhanja was a claimant to the throne of Orissa. The Madla Panji corroborates Abul Fazl's statement that he seized the throne after Mukunda Deva's death but was killed by the Pathans after few months. (Vide : *'Gajapati Kings of Orissa'*, p. 113, f.n. 211).

110. *Madla Panji*, p. 60.
111 *Madla Panji*, p. 60, Notes on the History of Orissa, *J.A S.B*, 1883.
112. Beveridge reads this name as Durga Panj – *A N.*, Vol. III, pp. 933-34. Sir Jadunath suggests that this is Raghu Bhanja.
113. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 330
114. Mukherji, P, *op cit*, pp. 102-107 ; Sahu, N. K., *O.H.R.J.*, III, No. 4, 178.

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Chapter Three

MUGHAL-AFGHAN HOSTILITIES IN ORISSA FOR SUPREMACY (A.D. 1568-1605)

Section I : The First Phase of the Struggle (A.D. 1568-1575)

The Second Battle of Panipat (1556) was a turning point in the history of India. Its effect on the politics of Bengal and Orissa was felt within a short period.

The Afghans, though deprived of their Delhi throne, never accepted their defeat as a 'fait accompli'. And the most difficult period of Mughal-Afghan relations began after the battle of Panipat. Being dislodged from their upper Indian territories, the Afghans in large numbers migrated to the eastern provinces, particularly to Bengal and Orissa. Orissa was the last resort and refuge of the Afghans where they built up a strong anti-Mughal confederacy.

Upto the middle of the sixteenth century, Orissa had been a Hindu country. The river Matreswar was the dividing line between Muslim kingdom in the north and the Hindu Orissa kingdom in the south. But a change came in with Sulaiman Karrani's invasion in A.D. 1568 and for the first time Muslim rule was established in Orissa under the Afghans. But before the Afghan rule had been consolidated in this newly conquered land, Sulaiman died in October 1572. He was succeeded by his son Bayazid. A proud, and self-willed youngman, Bayazid, unlike his father, turned the Afghan chiefs, who were the staunch supporters of his father, against himself by his insolence, arrogance and cruelities. As a result, he was murdered by Hansu, the nephew and son-in-law of Sulaiman Karrani[1].

According to the Riyaz-us-Salatin, two days after the assassination of Bayazid, Daud Karrani, younger son of Sulaiman Karrani collected a force and marched against Hansu who threw

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himself upon the protection of his accomplices, Qutlu and other Lohanis. At this juncture, the Lohanis, in order to save their skin, delivered up Hansu to Daud to be executed by the latter[2]. There is another version of this episode in the Tarikh-i-Daudi, according to which Sulaiman Karrani's Wazir Mian Ludi Khan got hold of the person of Hansu by an artifice, killed him and placed him on the throne[3].

Although Sulaiman Karrani had acknowledged nominal allegiance to Akbar in A.D. 1565, the Afghans were always, anxious to throw off the shackles of Delhi and become independent rulers of Bengal. Their opportunity came when Daud ascended the throne. At the instigation of the Afghan nobles, Daud assumed all the insignia of royalty, ordered Khutba to be read in mosques in his name and struck coins in his own name. He inherited a vast treasure from his father and a strong army. According to Riyaz-us-Salatin, 'He (Daud) had 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, and 3,300 elephants, and 140,000 infantry, consisting of musketeers, matchlockmen and rocketeers, and archers and 20,000 pieces of Ordnance, most of which were battering guns and cruisers and other implements of war, which he had ready in store...'[4]. This acquisition of wealth and possession of a large army puffed him up with vanity and he considered himself strong enough to cast off his allegiance to the emperor Akbar, the allegiance apparently and of course prudently maintained by his predecessors. Although the well-wishers disuaded him from this policy and gave him good counsel, he did not listen. This act of Daud and his eagerness of demonstrating his prowess very soon brought him into the long expected clash with the Mughals

Daud also acted foolishly in another way. He raised a host of enemies at home by wantonly insulting the Afghan veterans and treacherously murdering every kinsman who might have had the slightest prospect of the throne. Even Mian Ludi Khan was not spared. Instigated by some selfish nobles like Qutlu Lohani, the governor of Orissa, and Gujar Karrani, Daud brought about a fatal breach with Ludi Khan who was the rational spirit of the Afghans. 'Thus he struck his own foot with the axe, and at the same time uprooted the plant of his prosperity with the sprade of

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calamity'.[5] This led to the disruption of the Karrani house and in consequence of the establishment of the Mughals in Bengal.

The Emperor Akbar was informed that 'Daud had stepped out of his proper sphere, had assumed the title of king, and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patna, which Khan-Zaman built when he was ruler of Jaunpur. A farman was immediately sent to Khan-Khanan (Munim Khan), directing him to chastise Daud, and to conquer the country of Bihar'[6]. Meanwhile, upon advice from Munim Khan, Akbar sent Raja Todar Mal at the head of a large army to strengthen the hands of Munim Khan then stationed in the out-skirts of Bihar.[7] Akbar issued an urgent order calling upon the Mughal officers and fief-holders in Bihar to act harmoniously together and not to deviate from the instruction of Munim Khan. Within a short time Todar Mal arrived with the reinforcement and Munim Khan attacked Bihar and besieged Daud Khan in Patna. After long besiegement as Munim Khan could not defeat Daud, Akbar in person arrived in Patna. Patna, thus, fell into Mughal hands who secured 'abundant booty in money, goods and especially noted elephants.[8] Daud fled to Bengal. Akbar immediately sent a detachment in pursuit of Daud. But the detachment returned without having met the object of their pursuit'.[9] Thereupon Akbar sent Munim Khan at the head of 20,0 0 soldiers on 13 August 1574 to march upon Bengal and thereby to conclude the compaign successfully without giving the Afghans time to rally. Nowhere the Afghans could make a stand against the advancing Mughals. The Afghan plan of resistance broke and they were put to flight in confusion. Daud could not withstand the shock and he took to flight. Munim Khan entered Tanda, the capital of Bengal on 25 September 1574 unopposed.[10]

Although the Mughals occupied the Capital of Bengal, it took them many years to subjugate the whole province. The Afghan opposition at this stage assumed a dangerous proportion. Daud Karrani fled to Orissa. On the other hand the Afghan generals and soldiers raised distubrances where'ver they went.

Munim Khan in consultation with Todar Mal took up his quarters in Tanda. Here he kept himself engaged in organising political and financial matters. After consolidating his authority

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in the capital, Munim Khan sent detachments to Satagaon, Ghoraghat, Bakala, Sonargaon and Muhammadabad to crush the Afghan opposition and to establish imperial authority. As a result of this the Afghans could not stand the Mughal attack and in the west, north, central and south Bengal, no Afghan power was left to trouble the Mughals. Of course, no Mughal administration was instituted in any of the occupied regions effectively uptill then.[11]

After the conquest of Tanda and the flight of Daud to Orissa; Munim Khan devoted his attention to the settlement of the affairs of Bengal. Daud remained still unsubdued in Orissa So he sent Raja Todar Mal with some other amirs towards Orissa, in pursuit of Daud. Daud remained hovering backwards and forwards between Cuttack and Jalesore for sometime. The Mughals proceeded towards Orissa and Burdwan was made the advanced base. The supreme Mughal commander remained at Tanda. The imperial army on its way to Orissa, encamped at the port of Satagaon and took measures to soothe the distracted inhabitants there. At this stage news reached the Mughal camp that Srihari who 'was Daud's rational soul' parted with his master and took refuge in wilderness of Katwa. The desertion of Sribari had weakened Daud's cause to a large extent. Meanwhile, Raja Todar Mal joined the advance army of the Mughals and urged them to speed up their march in order to overthrow Daud from Orissa. The Mughal army under the command of Todar Mal advanced from Burdwan to Garh-Mandaran[12] in the Hughli district.

Raja Todar Mal when arrived at Mandaran, was informed by his scouts that Daud was engaged in collecting men in Din-Kasari, and that his forces were daily increasing. Todar Mal stopped at Mandaran, and wrote a full report from there to Khan-Khanan Munim Khan. On receiving it, the Khan sent Muhammad Quli Khan Birlas with reinforcements for the Raja. Upon their arrival, all the chiefs concurred in the expediency of marching Gowalpara, twenty miles from Din-Kasari, with all speed. When Daud heard this, he did not run away. but stood on his ground at Dharpur.[13]

The emissaries now brought in information that Junaid, son of Daud's uncle, a man of high repute among the Afghans for bravery

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and resolution, who had formerly come into the service of the Emperor Akbar. But he fled from Agra to Gujarat, and afterwards came to Bengal from Gujarat. Junaid was now at Din-Kasari, seeking to form a junction with Daud. Raja Todar Mal with the approval of other amirs, sent Abu-l-Qasim Namaki and Nazar Bahadur to attack Junaid. These men making light of the matter, neglected the precautions necessary in warfare. Therefore, they were defeated by Junaid, thus bringing disgrace upon themselves.[14]

Raja Todar Mal, on receiving the news, with the approval of his amirs, marched against Junaid. But before he could arrive, Junaid had fled into jungles. Therefore, Todar Mal stopped at Midnapur. Muhammad Quli Khan Birlas died here after a few days due to illness. He was an able man, and his loss was a great cause of weakness in the the Imperial forces.[15]

In concurrence with the remaining amirs, Raja Todar Mal returned from Midnapur to Mandaran. Here Qiya Khan Gang, being offended with other amirs without reason went off into the jungle[16]. Thus while the Mughal army was steadily advancing in pursuit of the enemy, the sudden death of Muhammad Quli Birlas caused great disorder in the Mughal camp. The soldiers refused to continue the forest campaign. Todar Mal's attempts to pacify the troops failed So he immediately informed Munim Khan with the state of affairs and requested him to send money to satisfy the troops. Todar Mal after reporting the fact to Munim Khan remained for some days in Madaran. In the meantime, Munim Khan Khan-Khanan sent Shaham Khan Jalair to support Raja Todar Mal. When they joined Todar Mal at Burdwan, he left them and went out into the forest after Qiya Khan. Qiya Khan was pacified and came back with Todar Mal After this, from Mandaran they marched to Jitura. There they were informed that Daud with his forces, had gone into the fort of Katak Banaras and was engaged in preparations for war.

Raja Todar Mal halted, and sent swift messengers to inform Munim Khan of the existing affairs. Munim Khan then left Tanda to march against Daud, and he formed a junction with Raja Todar Mal. Daud had organized his army and now advanced to to meet him[17]. Daud had been awaiting the arrival of the

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Mughals in Garh-Haripur[18]. He took special care to strengthen the approaches. He had also barricaded the regular road from Midnapore southwards. The difficulties of the march disheartened the imperial troops and they clamoured for some sort of agreement with the Afghans. Munim Khan summoned a council of war. Some preferred peace to war, while others preferred war but reflected upon the difficulties of the communications. At last by the exertions of Todar Mal and the firmness of Munim Khan, all agreed to fight. With the help of the local people, an obscure path was discovered. Daud's all plan for fortifying the regular roads were thus failed. Being disheartened, Daud turned back and resolved upon fighting. He sent his family to Cuttack and lightened his army. He advanced from his camp and two armies came face to face on the plain of Tukaroi[19], six miles west from Jaleswar on the bank of river Subarnarekha. The battle took place on the 3 March 1575[20].

The battle of Tukaroi : After the array was formed, the Afghans advanced rapidly. Munim Khan ordered fire to open upon them from the swivels (zarb-zan) and light guns (zamburak), which were in his front line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack. The musketry mowed down the Afghans who were in advance. Gujar Khan, with his division in excellent order, now came up boldly, and drove back Khan-Khanan Munim Khan's advanced force upon the Altamash.[21] Khan-i-alam who commanded the advance held him ground and was killed. The Altamash division was next defeated and driven back upon the centre, which in its turn was in great difficulty. Munim Khan did all in his power, but could not restrain his men. At this time, Gujar Khan attacked and wounded Munim Khan. As the latter had no sword, he returned Gujar Khan's cuts with slashes of his whip. In this conjuncture Munim Khan's horse took fright ; and although his rider was anxious to stop him and rally the fugitives, he could not restrain him. The Afghans pursued Munim Khan for a mile. In the meantime Qiya Khan Gang attacked the Afghans, and showered arrows upon them. The Afghans were exhausted by their long ride, and could not move. Then Munim Khan got his horse under control, and

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rallying his men, led them back to the field. They discharged showers of arrows, and by the guidance of fate, an arrow struck Gujar Khan, and brought him down. When the Afghans saw their leaders fall they turned their back and fled, but many of them were cut down in flight.

Raja Todar Mal, Laskar Khan, and others who were upon the right, now charged the left of the enemy. Shaham Khan and others who were on the left, also attacked their opponents on the right, defeated them and drove them back upon Daud. His elephants, being worried by the arrows turned round upon the body of his army, and the stone of dismay was cast among them. The banner of Munim Khan now became visible, and the death of Gujar Khan came to the knowledge of Daud. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Munim Khan encamped victorious on the battlefield. He remained there a few days, to have his wounds tended, and sent a report of the victory to Emperor Akbar. All the prisoners of war were put to the sword. Lashkar Khan Mir-bakshi, who had rendered such service, died of his wounds before the army moved.[22] Thus the Mughals though victorious had suffered so much that they did not pursue the fugitives. This battle was one of the most important battles fought by Akbar's generals. It crushed the Afghans and decided the possession of Bengal and upper Orissa.

Peace with Daud : After his defeat Daud fled to Katak Banaras (Cuttack). Munim Khan, who remained stationary on account of his wounds, held a council, in which he and his amirs, determined to pursue Daud. Raja Todar Mal and others were directed to proceed after him. It was agreed that Munim Khan himself would follow as soon as his wounds permitted. The Raja and his amirs accordingly started, and did not halt until they reached Kalkal-ghati[23]. After resting there a while, the scouts brought in the intelligence that Daud and Afghans, with their wives and children, were shut up in the fort of Katak Banaras (Barabati fort). Reduced to extremities, and having no other refuge, the Afghans were resolved on fighting, and fugitives from the field of battle daily gathered round them. Todar Mal sent a

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report of the state of affairs to Munim Khan[24]. According to Abul-Fazl, Todar Mal's men were despondent and he was obliged to call for support[25]. Therefore, Munim Khan decided to move the whole army to Katak. He set out for Katak, never resting till he came within four miles of that place. Then he held a council with his amirs, and having pitched him camp on the banks of river Mahanadi, which was one mile from Katak, he began to collect materials for siege[26].

Realising his critical situation, Daud sought for peace, and intimated his desire to accept the terms proposed earlier by Munim Khan. Thus, in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Munim Khan with a massage to this effect: 'The striving to crush a party of Musalmans is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject; but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengal sufficient for my support may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel'. The amirs communicated this to Munim Khan, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal upon two conditions. Firstly, Daud should come out to meet Munim Khan. Secondly, he should confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths[27]. But Raja Todar Mal who well understood the true position of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet (to prevent the armistice), met with no support[28].

Next day (12 April 1575) Munim Khan ordered a grand court to be held, and all the nobles and attendants to be present in their places in fine array, and the troops drawn up in arms in front of the tents[29]. Daud came out of the fort, attended by his Afghan nobles and officers, and proceeded to the tent of Munim Khan. When he approached it, Munim Khan with great courtesy and respect rose up and walked half-way down the tent to meet him. When they met, Daud loosened his sword from the belt, and holding it before him, said, 'I am tired of war since it inflicts wounds on worthy men like you". Munim Khan took the sword, and handed it to one of his attendants. Then gently taking Daud by the hand, he seated him by his side, and made the most kind and fatherly inquiries. Food, drink and sweetmeats were served, of which the Khan pressed him to partake[30]. Abul Fazl also

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describes this situation as follows : 'Daud loosened his sword and left it behind him, implying that he had left off soldiering and had made himself over to the sublime court and do whatever the pillars of the empire thought it right for him to do. The Khan-Khanan (Munim Khan), made it over to his servants...'[81].

After all this was over, the terms of peace came under discussion. Daud protested that he would never take any course hostile to the Imperial throne, and he confirmed his promise by the most stringent oaths. The terms were that Daud was to do homage of service, to surrender his best elephants, and pay up his tribute. Eventually he was to go to court and do homage in person, but for the present some relation was to be sent as hostage. His nephew Shaikh Muhammad son of Bayazid, accompanied Munim Khan to court[82]. Thus the treaty of peace was drawn up. Then Munim Khan brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his stores. and presenting it to Daud, said 'you have now become a subject of Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have therefore requested that the country of Orissa may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition granting this to you as my "tankhwah" has been granted to me. I now gird you afresh with this war like sword'. Then he bound on the sword with his own hands, and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of gifts, he dismissed him, The Court then broke up, and Munim Khan started on his return. Subsequently, he sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor Akbar, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled swords, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Khan-Khanan Munim Khan, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.[83]

While Munim Khan was occupied at Cuttack, the sons of Jalal-ud-din Sur, in consent with the Zamindars of Ghora-Ghat attacked and defeated Majnum Khan (the Mughal Officer who was in charge of Bengal), drove him to the neighbourhood of Tanda, and captured the fort of Gaur. Muin Khan and Majnum Khan provided for the security of Tanda. and awaited intelligence of Khan-Khanan's success. Munim Khan now started his return

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journey and on the way, appointed Murad Khan and Nazar Bahadur as the Governor of Jaleswar and Bhadrak respectively[34]. When his return became known, the insurgents scattered and hid themselves in the jungles[35]. Munim Khan returned in haste, and without entering Tanda, proceeded at once against the enemy. He found the turbulent force posted on the other side of the Ganges. Not far off the river divides into two branches. Over one of these he cast a bridge, and was preparing to do so over the other, when the army took the alarm and fled. Munim Khan then proceeded to Malda, and sent a detachment under Manjun Khan to Ghora-Ghat, which quickly brought the place again under the Imperial authority[36].

'When Khan-Khanan (Munim Khan), with his mind at ease about Daud, returned to Tanda, the capital of the country, under the influence of his evil destiny, he took a dislike to Tanda, and crossing the Ganges, he founded a home for himself at the fortress of Gaur, which in old times had been the capital of Bengal[37], and he ordered that all the soldiers and "raiyats" should remove from Tanda to Gaur. In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of expatriation. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tanda. Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people.[38] Thousands died everyday and living tired with burying the corpses, threw them into the river. Everyday the deaths of many nobles and officers were reported to Munim Khan, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. His own health became affected, and he grew worse, and at the end of ten days, in the month of Safar, 983 A.H., he died.[39] His nobles and officers, who had so often met to congratulate him, now assembled to lament him. They placed Shaham Khan Jalair in command, and made a report of the facts to the Emperor. When the despatch reached Akbar, he selected Hussain Quli Khan entitled Khan-Jahan, who had been governor of Punjab, to be governor of Bengal. Khan-Jahan was recalled from Punjab, and was appointed to Bengal,[40] Raja Todar Mal being second in command.[41]

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Section II : The Second phase of the Mughal-Afghan hostilities (A.D. 1575-1604)

The battle of Tukaroi was not a turning-point in the history of medieval Orissa. The fall of Daud Karrani did not bring an end to the Mughal-Afghan hostility. Daud surrendered at the feet of Munim Khan at Cuttack and signed the humiliating treaty. But the peace which was thus established, was only a hollow peace. Daud had evil design to overthrow the treaty, the moment he would get the opportunity. Therefore, the second phase of Mughal-Afghan struggle for supremacy began and continued in the period between 1575 and 1604, not only in Orissa, but spreaded into Bengal and Bihar also This period was a period conquering generals who were primarily interested in expanding the Mughal sway over eastern India. But the chief obstacle in the way was the determined Afghan resistance extending over the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

In this connection, it is to be noted that the Mughal victory over the Afghans might have been easier, had not the Mughal officials in the provinces risen to open rebellion. A number of Mughal generals posted at different places in Bengal and Bihar restored to all sorts of crimes in accumulating wealth. Their only thought was how to carry away their pile of gains. The attempts of the newly arrived civil officers from the court, to check the illegal gains of the old officers, pushed the later into despair, and as a consequence rebellions broke out in Bihar and Bengal. This unhappy situation encouraged the dispossessed Afghans everywhere to anti-Mughal activities.[42]

The rebellion of the Mughal officers and soldiers was the signal of fresh troubles with the Afghans. Therefore, Daud, in order to utilise this opportunity, as the last chance to regain his independence, broke out his oath and rose in rebellion in Orissa. Daud fell upon Nazar Bahadur, Akbar's governor of Bhadrak, and treacherously killed him. Murad Khan, the Mughal officer of Jaleswar, wisely retreated to Tanda.[43] Thus Daud occupied Bhadrak and Jaleswar and reoccupied his lost territories in Bengal. Terror broke out among the surviving Mughal officers and soldiers. On being left leaderless, all the Mughal detachments first left Gaur

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and then abandoned Bengal altogether retreating to Bhagalpur enroute to Delhi.[44]

According to Nizamuddin, 'While the Emperor was encamped at Ajmir, the intelligence was brought to him that Daud Afghan had flug away the treaty which he had made with Khan-Khanan, had risen against the royal authority, and had marched against Tanda. The imperial officers in that quarter, having no chief among them on whom they could rely, had abandoned the country, and retired to Hajipur and Patna. All this commotion had arisen because Khan-Jahan had taken his time in going there in consequence of his army being at Lahore. Upon receiving this intelligence, the Emperor sent a letter by Subhan Quli Turk to Khan-Jahan, directing him to take with him all the amirs and Jagirdars who abandoned Bengal, and to march against Daud. In twenty-two days Subhan Quli travelled nearly a thousand Kos, and delivered the farman to Khan-Jahan. The Khan took the field, and advanced into Bengal.[45] At Bhagalpur Khan-Jahan was met by the Amirs of Bengal.[46] The imperial army under the command of Khan-Jahan and Todar Mal very easily recovered the Teligrahi pass from the three thousand men whom Daud had left in charge of the pass. Nearly fifteen hundred of the enemy were slain and many chiefs were made prisoners.[47]

Daud never imagined that imperial army would come so soon. The imperial army after the capture of Grahi, had advanced to the vicinity of Tanda. On being apprised of its approach, Daud fell back on Rajmahal[48] and took defensive measures. On one flank was the river, on the other a mountain, and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khan-Jahan marched against him, but he met with more decided opposition at Rajmahal. Khan-Jahan stood for months facing Daud near Rajmahal. But owing to the difficulties of the country and time, there was no engagement. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afghans. One day Khwaja Abdullah, one of the Imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghan entrenchment. The enemy sallied forth and attacked him, and he fell, fighting bravely. Khan-Jahan complained of the wilful neglect of his Amirs, and when Akbar heard of

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the death of Khwaja Abdullah Naqshbandi, who had been purposely left unspported in skirmish, the Emperor's anger was roused. He sent an order to Muzaffar Khan; the governor of Bihar, to assemble all the troops and Jagirdars in his province and to march to the assistance of Khan-Jahan.[49] Akbar sent five lakhs of rupees by Dak-Chauki towards defraying the expenses of the army. Orders were given for the despatch of boats laden with grain from Agra for the use of the army. This gave encouragement to the imperial troops, while on the other hand, filled the hearts of the Afghans with terror. A detachment under Shahbaz Khan was sent to suppress, Gajapati, a noted land-lord of Bihar in order to restore the land-line of communication as well as to prevent him from assisting Daud.[50]

On 10 July 1576, Muzaffar Khan arrived with the forces of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna, amounting to nearly 5,000 horses, and joined Khan-Jahan. An immediate engagement with Daud Karrani was resolved upon. The fights near Rajmahal were now resumed with new vigour. On 12 July the Mughals drew out their forces and attacked the enemy. Daud, also supported by his uncle Junaid Karrani and other Afghan chiefs, made his dispositions.[51]

During a skirmish a canon-ball wounded Junaid and his leg was broken, which led to a general battle. The right wing of the Afghans, commanded by Kala Pahar, gave way when the soldiers saw their leader wounded. Daud was left behind at the centre and was defeated by Khan-Jahan. The Afghans gave proof of courage, but ultimately left the battlefield. The imperial army chased the fugitivies on every side. Many of them in utter confusion lost their lives while swimming across the rivers and streams. The battlefield was filled with noise of victory and in the midst of this joyous confusion, Daud was brought as a prisoner.[52]

Khan-Jahan asked Daud what had become of his agreement and oaths. Daud replied spiritedly, 'that engagement was with Khan-Khanan (Munim Khan). The time has now come to make friends and to enter into a new treaty'. Khan-Jahan, fully aware of the craft and perfidy of Daud ordered that his body should be immediately

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relieved from the weight of his rebellious head. Daud was beheaded[53] and his head was sent to emperor Akbar through Abdullah Khan.[54] Great spoils and many elephants fell into the hands of the victors.[55] With the fall and death of Daud, the Afghan resistance collapsed.

After the battle of Rajmahal, the general apathy and neglect of the Mughal Officers permitted the Afghans to linger on in Orissa and south-eastern Bengal till the end of Akbars' reign. Mughal rule in Orissa can hardly said to have begun during the life time of Akbar. From A.D. 1576 till his death in A.D. 1605 nearly thirty years were spent by Mughal officers of Bengal in trying to stamp out the rebellious spirit of the Afghans in that province and in Orissa. The first separate Subahdar for Orissa was not appointed till A.D. 1607 in the reign of Emperor Jahangir. As the Mughal army arrived on the borders of Orissa only eight years after the fall of the last of the real Gajapatis, the Afghans had no time to consolidate themselves in Orissa.

Thus after the fall of Daud, Orissa was nominally annexed to Akbar's empire and was kept as a Mughal province along with Bengal. But Mughal administration could not continue in peace. The Afghans were left without a leader, but they carried on their resistance individually and in groups, and continued to keep up the flame of rebellion burning. The Mughal rule had, therefore, not been established securely, and the Afghans were in frequent revolt. Thus Orissa was kept away from the good administration of Akbar till to his death.

Raja Todar Mal, after the death of Daud, arranging peace and administration, returned back to Delhi with a huge number of elephants for the empreor. Just after his return, the Afghans again became rebellious in Bengal. Khan-Jahan Hussain Quli Khan, the governor of Bengal defeated them in the battle of Saptagrama. Being driven out of Bengal, the Afghans fled away to Orissa. For two years Hussain Quali Khan remained engaged in the suppression of the rebellions and brought peace for some day. Hussain Quli Khan died in A.D. 1578. Muzaffar Khan Turbati was appointed as governor of Bengal in April, 1579[56] and Masoom Khan Afghan was appointed as administrator of Orissa.[57]

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In the meantime, some Afghans had been granted Jagir in Orissa by the Mughal Government, who were helping in the administration. The Mughal officers were frequently oppressing those Jagirdars and were also taking away some portions from their Jagir lands. The Jagirdars were dissatisfied due to this. The Bengal Governor Muzaffar Khan asked the Afghan Jagirdars for the account of income and expenditure, and all of them became rebellious due to this. Masoom Khan, the administrator of Orissa became the leader of this rebellion as he was forced to give that account.[58] This event has been described in the Tabaqat-i-Akbari thus: 'Muzaffar Khan on arriving in Bengal, set about arranging the affairs of that province. But his prosperity was on the wane, and his day was gone by. He was harsh in his measures, he offended men with his words, he deprived many amirs of their Jagirs, he demanded the 'dagh' (brand-tax), and brought old practices up again.

'Baba Khan Kakshal, although he was conciliatory, and begged that his jagir might be left undisturbed, was called upon for the "dagh" and received no attention. The pargana of Jaleswar, which was the jagir of Khaldi Khan, was taken away from him at the beginning of the spring harvest, and was added as "tankhwah" to the jagir of Shah Jamal-ud-din Husain. A sum of money due from the spring harvest had been received by Khaldi Khan and to recover this Muzaffar Khan put him in prison, and ordered to be scourged and bastinadoed.'[59] In this rebellion the officers of Bengal and Bihar also joined, However, Muzaffar being indulged in suppressing this rebellion was finally killed in the hands of the rebels in 1580.[60]

When the news of Muzaffar's death and the occupation of the whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the rebels reached Akbar, he sent Raja Todar Mal with other amirs from Fatehpur Sikri to repress it[61]. Todar Mal defeated the rebels and followed them. The Afghans fled towards Orissa in search of shelter and hindered themselves in the forest hills. During this period Raja Todar Mal visited Orissa, to superintend the introduction of his settlement called the Taqsim Jamma and Tankhwa Raqmi.[62]

The liberal administrative policy of Raja Todar Mal had not

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ended with this much. The best example of his liberalism was the establishment of the Bhoi dynasty in Orissa. For this Raja Todar Mal has become unforgettable in Orissa. After the death of Mukunda Dev, the throne of Orissa remained vacant. The overlordship of Orissa was in the hands of the Afghans of Bengal. During this disturbed situation Ramai Routray, the son of Bhoi Janardan Bidyadhar, the Prime Minister of Govind Dev coming from the south in A.D. 1568, occupied Orissa. He established his capital at Khurda and ruled independently in the name of Ramachandra Dev. Ramachandra Dev thinking himself the successor of the previous Gajapati rulers of Orissa, took the title of Gajapati and introduced his own Anka-year.[63] Janardan Bidyadhar was the 'Bhoi' or Prime Minister in the court of Gajapati king of Orissa. According to that title Ramachandra Dev and his successors on the Khurda throne were known as the kings of the Bhoi dynasty.

Raja Todar Mal in spite of completing the conquest of Orissa, could not perhaps deny the rule of Ramachandra Dev. He did overthrow Ramachandra Dev but recognised him as an semi-independent king and the true successor of the Gajapati kings of Orissa.[64]

Perhaps to complete this work and to pay a visit to the temple of Jagannath, Todar Mal had gone to Puri, the mention of which is found in the Madla Panji. In the words of Madla Panji : 'During these days in the 4th Anka (A.D. 1569) of the king (Ramachandra Dev) Todar Mal came'.[65] But the date of Madla Panji is not correct. Stirling, after consulting the date from some old persian manuscripts, has given the correct date as A.D. 1580.[66] This date corroborates with the date of Tabaqat-i-Akbari. According to another version of Madla Panji collected by Ramaprosad Chanda : 'In manuscript B it is said that Todar Mal went to Puri and at the requests of the Brahmans, nobles and monks, conferred on Ramachandra Dev, the kingdom of Orissa'.[67] Perhaps due to this recognisation of Todar Mal given to Raja Ramachandra Dev, his rival claimant to the throne of Orissa, the son of Mukunda Dev complained before the Emperor Akbar at Delhi. This has been narrated in the Madla Panji in this manner : 'In the 12th Anka of Ramachandra Dev, the son of Telinga Mukunda Dev complained

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to the Padshah of Delhi. The Padshah sent Raja Man Singh to Orissa saying, "He who is the leader (naika)' of Orissa be made the Raja of Orissa".[68]

However, the arrangements for the annexation of the province of Orissa to the empire did not receive the final completion until the arrival of Raja Man Singh, who assumed the charge of Government in A.D. 1592.[69]

Therefore, from the above discussion it is clear that the fall of Mukunda Dev in A.D. 1568, soon after, Ramachandra Dev with the support of some kings of the southern Orissa, was able to establish the Khurda kingdom in A.D. 1571-72. As by this time, the Barabati fort of Cuttack, the ancient capital of Orissa, had become the capital of the Afghans, Ramachandra Dev did not waste his energy in recovering that. Rather, he established the Khurda fort in the Puri district, on the foot hills of Barunai, which was in the midst of dense forest and had been surrounded with a number of small forts for its protection. After making his position stable, the first task which Ramachandra Dev did, was the restoration of the image of Jagannath in the temple of Puri, which had been destroyed by Kala Pahar, the general of Sulaiman Karrani. This work was completed in A.D. 1575. On account of this, he was accepted by the people of Orissa as the right successor to the Gajapati throne of Orissa. Due to his connection with Lord Jagannath, he enjoyed an unique position in the Hindu world and his regnal year had currency throughout the Orissa province.[70]

On the light of the above position enjoyed by Ramachandra Dev, the view of R, D. Banerjee that 'In Northern Orissa the title of Gajapati remained in abeyance till 1592 for 24 years, when by a clever manipulation of religious opinion Man Singh managed to gain over the priest of Jagannath in favour of Ramachandra I of Khurda against Telinga Ramachandra. For 24 years from 1568 to 1592 there was anarchy in Orissa[71], 'has now become unacceptable. Thus Kala Pahar's expedition to the Puri district of Orissa was a mere raid. Soon after he turned his back Ramachandra Dev carved out a kingdom in southern Orissa with Khurda as its capital.

The first fifteen years of Gajapati Ramachandra Dev had passed in peace. So he was able to establish the khurda kingdom on a

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strong footing In the south, the Sultan of Golconda, Ibrahim Qutub Shah had established his power upto Chilka lake in A.D 1571. But to the north of Srikakulam his occupation was not strong enough. After the death of Ibrahim, his son Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, succeeded to the throne of Golconda. His general Sayed Sukarli in A.D. 1590, after occupying Khalicot, Athgarh, Bisuli and Mankalcot area had dug out a big pond named 'Sahasar', near the Langalabeni fort in the Athgarh state, which in known from the Athgarh stone inscription. Under him, Narasingha Bahubalendra of the Chalukya dynasty declaring himsslf the real successor of the ruler of Utkala, had taken the title of Gajapati.[73] He was the brother of Mukunda Dev, the last independent Gajapati of Orissa and had been appointed as the ruler of Raj Mahendri and Kalinga Dandapat by the Sultan of Golconda. He had not accepted the sovereignty of Gajapati Ramachandra Dev in the north. But it is not known yet that he had clashed with Ramachandra Dev[73].

The next king of the Chalukya dynasty Mukunda Raj Bahubalendra revolted against the Sultan of Golconda. So his general Ameen-ul-Mulk tried to defeat Mukunda Raj and so he took asylum near Gajapati Ramachandra Dev. Due to this the general of Golconda attacked the Khurda kingdom[74]. Ramachandra Dev had fought bravely against this invasion to save Mukunda Raj. During the time of this invasion Ameen-ul-Mulk, the general of Golconda had levied tribute from the towns of the Khurda kingdom, devastating the villages and pillaging the open country. As a result of this Ramachandra Dev was defeated and became a tributary to the Sultan of Golconda, Mukund Raj unable to secure a retreat in that country, was obliged to fly and seek protection in Bengal.

But this description of Ferishta is an exaggeration of facts. That Ramachandra Dev had become the tributary king is not supported by any other evidence, Rather with the help of Ramachandra Dev, Mukunda Raj after capturing his kingdom, had started severe battle with the army of Golconda. But he was again defeated and took shelter in the Bengal province[75].

After this the southern Danadapatas of Orissa, namely Kalinga and Rajahmundry were included in the dominions of the Sultan

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Golconda. Then the boundary between the two disintegrated parts of Orissa was fixed somewhere near the river Rishikulya and the Chilka lake[76].

Thus after regularising the administration of Orissa, Raja Todar Mal returned to Delhi in A.D. 1582. After his return the Afghans once again raised their banner of rebellion, that time under the leadership of Qutlu Khan, an officer of Daud Khan. Qutlu occupied Puri after defeating Ramachandra Dev at Khurda.[77] Then he marched towards Bengal and a part of Bengal came under his authority.

In the meantime in A.D. 1582, Khan-i-Azaam had been appointed as the Viceroy of Bengal by Akbar to devote his energies to the conquest of Bengal. In the 28th year (A.D. 1583 of the reign of Akbar, Khan-i-Azam advanced towards Bengal. After his arrival strenous preparations were made for the recovery of Bengal.

On hearing of the Imperial army, Masum Khan Katuli fell back towards Qutlu and entered into a league with him to defend Afghan dominions against the fresh advance of the Mughals. Masum Khan succeeded in obtaining a promise from Qutlu to support in men and munitions, when the imperial forces should arrive. Another important man on the Afghan side connected with his campaign was Kala Pahar, who was the reputed conqueror of Orissa. Masum Khan appointed him to command the flotilla in the battle of Garhi. In A.D. 1583, the Mughal army attacked the Afghans. In this battle Kala Pahar 'who was singular for his skill in river-fighting', fell in the battle. As a result of this dissension broke out in the camp of the rebels and many of them were prevailed upon to desert to the imperialists. The loss of their able general disappointed the Afghans and hence they fled to the other parts of Bengal in search of safety. Khan-i Azam next set about finding a remedy for the crafty Qutlu Lohani. 'He (Qutlu) be wiles and flatteries' writes Abul Fazl "brought forwarded a proposal of peace and sent eloquent and skillful persons to court and made use of blandishment. The answer (from the Mughals) came that if his work corresponded to his words, they should admit him as a servant

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and restore Orissa to him". Thus the Afghans submitted to Khan-i-Azam and joined the Mughals against Masum Khan. It was known that Masum Khan Kabuli was in the country of Aisi, and Khan-i-Azam was desirous of returning home. For these reasons the Emperor Akbar ordered Shahbas Khan in A.D. 1584 to proceed to Bengal and to do his best to exterminate Masum Khan. Thus in the midst of parleys, Khan-i-Azam got the order of his transfer. He left the negotiations to a subordinate officer Wazir Khan and left for Hajipur near Patna, his own Jagir. Qutlu in his shortsightedness, seized this opportunity and at once put forward unfitting conditions with regard to the proposed peace, which the Mughals could not accept. The imperialists, therefore, marched from Sherpur (south of Bogra town) to Burdwan, crossed the river Damodar and stood facing Qutlu's army towards the end of June 1583. Qutlu had recourse to tricks. He made use of humility and supplications. He promised obedience to the emperor and agreed to send his brother's son with presents to the court as a mark of his devotion to the imperial authority. But really his design was to deceive the Mughals in an opportune moment and by a stratagem to seize the persons of the Mughal leaders, so that he might gain his object. Accordingly, he represented that he was sending his nephew as promised to the court and asked that Sadiq Khan should come without a large retinue from his camp, while he too would come from his camp, so that they may see one another and that he might make over to the Mughal commander his nephew. Sadiq Khan instead of going personally, sent another Mughal commander Shaikh Farid Khan. When the latter arrived at the appointed place, there was no trace of Qutlu according to the version of Akbarnama. But Tabaqat-i-Akbari narrates the event in another manner. According to this version 'when the Shaikh reached his (Qutlu's) dwelling, and had an interview with him, Qutlu was very humble. Bahadur Gauriya, one of the Zamindars of Bengal, and a high officer in the army of Qutlu, came to see the Shaikh, who then travelled on under the eyes of the zamindars and the servants of Qutlu. Bahadur, in a hostile manner, blocked up the road by which

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the Shaikh was returning, and attacked him. Many of his men were killed but the Shaikh escaped without injury'. So Qutlu's sole intention was to seize Farid by surprise, take him to a remote place and thereby to gain his object by using him as a hostage. But he failed in his design and thus disappointed at the failure of his scheme and he took to flight.[78]

Shahbaz Khan now wrote to his officers from Tanda stating that as Qutlu was not strong enough to face the imperialists in the field, some of them had better join the army which was opposing Masum Khan on the Jamna. So the imperialists instead of pursuing the Afghans, sent a detachment beyond Satgaon to keep a watch over Orissa frontier where the Afghans had revived their power under Qutlu Lohani. Accordingly, Wazir Khan and a number of officers remained in Orissa and Sadiq Khan with others came to Bengal.[79]

Now Shahbaz Khan turned his attention towards the suppression of Masum Khan. After a hot engagement with the imperialists, Masum retired from Tanda and took refuge in Bhatti. Shahbaz followed up his success by entering Isa Khan's country. Isa Khan earned the displeasure of the viceroy by giving Masum shelter in his territory, although he assured the Mughal viceroy of surrendering the fugitive on demand. Shahbaz proceeded towards Bhatti ignoring the violence of the rainy season. His object was to force Isa Khan to keep his promise of surrendering Masum Khan whom he still harbouring as well as to test Isa's apparent loyalty which he was always expressing. Isa Khan who had gone to Kuch Bihar, arrived with a large and well-equipped army and joined Masum Khan Kabuli. But the final result of this Bhatti campaign was a disastrous failure for the Mughals The failure was mainly due to mutual jealousies of the imperial commanders, their insubordination and in rdinate pride and arrogance of their leader which, understandably prevented concerted action on their part in over-coming the Afghans successfully. After this tragic failure, the Afghans in East Bengal became more aggressive and raided the Mughal territories upto Malda City[80].

When Shahbaz Khan marched against Bhatti, a force was

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sent under Wazir Khan to Burdwan, against Qutlu. But the time was passed in doing nothing, untill Sadiq Khan arrived. He was an active and intelligent officer, and soon worked a change. The rebel fled in shame to Orissa and the imperial officers pursued him and caught him at Tukaroi, the scene of Daud's discomfiture nine years earlier. Here he was so pressed that he was obliged to seek refuge in the forests of Dharampur. Qutlu offered his submission and made huge presents to the Mughal Officers. 'The Officers', writes Abul Fazl, 'from cupidity and the hardships of campaigns, did not attend to the circumstances and made use of a former order (of the emperor) which was to the effect that if the dweller in the ravine of ruin (i.e. Qutlu) should bind himself to the saddle straps of eternal dominion (i.e. Mughal empire) they were not to take his (Qutlu's) past into account and were to make over Orissa to him'. Accordingly, Qutlu was left to enjoy Orissa in peace and in turn as a mark of gratitude, he sent his nephew with sixty noted elephants and other presents. These reached Akbar on 11 June 1584. Wazir Khan was ordered back to Tanda and Sadiq Khan who joined Wazir Khan was ordered to proceed to Patna.[81]

Within a short time Shabhaz Khan also became tired of Bengal and streneously attempted to return to court. He also soon earned the displeasure of the emperor and 'he was suspected of having received large sums of money for these concessions' from Qutlu Lohani.[82] He was therefore ordered to deliver over the Government of Bengal to Wazir Khan and to return to Agra, 'where upon his arrival, he was put into close imprisonment and was not liberated for three years'.[83] But this view of Stewart is not acceptable. Because in the Akbar-Nama it has been mentioned that in the thirtieth year of the reign of the Emperor Akbar (A.D. 158), 'when the emperor marched to the Panjab, he received intelligence that Wazir was unable by himself to secure tranquility in Bengal, and that the rebels were still active. Orders were accordingly sent to Shahbaz Khan, directing him to march from Bihar to Bengal. Although Shahbaz requested to be allowed to return to court, messengers

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were sent to him with positive instructions to proceed on this duty'[84] This shows that Shahbaz Khan had not been imprisoned after leaving Orissa, but had been appointed as the governor of Bihar and served the Emperor as a faithful servant.

With the arrival of Shahbaz Khan in Orissa, both the rebels Isa Khan and Masum Khan submitted, many of the Afghans left Qutlu Khan and joined the royal forces. Qutlu himself made specious representations and Shahbaz Khan was simple enough to give back Orissa to him[85]. Thus Qutlu was left to rule Orissa independently on condition that he retired from Bengal and acknowledged himself as tributory.[86]

Raja Man Singh's Political Exploits in Orissa : (A. D. 1590-1605)

Akbar was not satisfied with the treaty concluded with the Afghans. Therefore, he dismissed Shahbaz Khan, the governor of Bengal and Orissa and ordered him to return to the Mughal court in 1587. After the return of Shahbaz Khan, the Afghans were left free to play their roles in the far off kingdom of Orissa. Qutlu Khan Lohani began to occupy new places, included in the Mughal territory. He also drove away the Mughal faujdars from their places. When this vexatious news of the fresh Afghan risings in Orissa was brought to the notice of the Emperor, he decided to send one of his best generals to Orissa to settle the matter once for all. His choice fell on Raja Man Singh, son of Raja Bhagwan Das. After settling the matter in the province of Bihar and reducing the refractory nobles, into obedience in 1590, he thought of invading Orissa by way of Jharkhand. As Man Singh's soldiers either were exhausted or tired in his expedition against the rebellious chiefs in Bihar, he wanted to reinforce the army from Bengal. So he invited the cooperation of Sayeed Khan, the governor of Bengal, who, in consequence of the near approach of the rainy season, postponed his assistance. But he, however, could prevail upon Pahar Khan Rai Patradas and others from Bengal to come to his assistance. Then the Raja marched by way of Burdwan and halted at Jahanabad[87], till the rains should be over, and Sayeed Khan and others should come to support him.[88]

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Qutlu, the able and shrewd politician of the Afghans, who was always vigilant to the movement of the Mughals, intended to take necessary action to check the advance of the Mughal army into the Afghan territory from the beginning. So Qutlu raised his banner in Orissa and now boldly advanced to Dharpur, fifty miles from the Imperial army, with the intention of giving battle. He also sent his general Bahadur Kuruh with a big force to the fort of Raipur in the Bankura district[89].

Man Singh at the advance of the Afghans, committed a great mistake of sending his worthless son Jagat Singh with a division of army to meet the Afghans. The inexperienced Jagat Singh was totally deluded by the Afghans. Instead of fighting against the enemy, he used to neglect his business. He took to drinking and wasted his time in merry making and pleasure. The indisciplined soldiers of Jagat Singh could not face the Afghans. In the words of Abul Fazl, 'Jagat Singh was warned of his danger, but paid no heed. At length he was attacked by the rebels, and was obliged to fly and abandon his camp ; but he was saved by Hamir (Raja Vir Hambir), the zamindar who had given him warning and conducted to Vishnupur (in the Bankura district)'[90].

Upon learning of this reverse, Raja Man Singh held a council, and the prevailing opinion was, that it was desirable to retreat to Salimabad, where the families of his troops were, and there to re-organize his army. But Man Singh rejected these counsels, and resolved upon fighting.

Fortunately for the royal cause, Qutlu Lohani a few days after this event died due to illness and his young son Nasir was placed on the throne to act as king and leader [91]. In medieval world, success more depended on the personality of king than on anything else. Nasir was not the worthy successor of his father. He had neither commanding personality nor was an able general to guide the Afghans to bring success against the Mughals. The loss of a leader like Qutlu brought nervousness and depression in the heart of the Afghans. Moreover, they were not sufficiently united and had their own weakness. Khwaja Isa Khan, the Vakil of Qutlu, was the only cautious and experienced man. Therefore, after the sudden death of

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Qutlu, the Afghans sued for peace. As the rainy season was not yet terminated and Raja Man Singh found himself unable to undertake any active measure, he readily responded to their proposal[92].

The submission of the Afghans to Mughals was regarded by Man Singh as a cheap bargain. The terms of t e peace disclosed the anxiety and weaknees of the imperial cause. The reason why the Mughals did not press the Afghans but were satisfied with the treaty offering lenient terms to the enemy is that :

i) Firstly, the tired army from Bihar, though partly reinforced by the Mughal soldiers in Bengal was not sufficiently strong to curb the pride of the Afghans.

ii) Secondly, the Bengal soldiers who were hard hit by their previous evperience in Orissa were eager to patch off the matter.

iii) Thirdly, Man Singh who was reminded of the tragic fate of his predecessors, did not like to carry the matter too far with the Afghans without being prepared with invigorated and refreshed soldiers. He felt diffident to give a crushing defeat to the enemy in a remote country, the detailed knowledge of which he was not aware. Lastly, his in complete task at Bihar diverted his attention for a return to that province. All these considerations made Man Singh eager to agree to the treaty negotiations,[93]

'It was accordingly agreed that the Emperor's name should be used in the Khutba and on the coins, that the country should be obedient and loyal, that Jagannath, the celebrated place of worship, should, with its dependencies, become subject to the royal exchequer, and that no injury should be done to the loyal Zamindars. All of them with craft and dissimulation, affixed their signatures to this document'. Accordingly, Nasir attentded by Isa Khan visited Man Singh and presented him with 150 elephants and many other costly articles, which were offered as tribute[94]. Man Singh gladly accepted these terms. Young Nasir was treated with every mark of respect and was permitted to return to Orissa. Having settled the affairs of the Afghans, Man Singh returned to Bihar. Out of the 150

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elephants presented by Nasir, 120 were sent to the emperor Akbar by Man Singh, the mention of which we find in the Tabaqat-i-Akbari in the follwing words : 'One hundred and twenty elephants, taken by Raja Man Singh in Orissa, now arrived at court, and were presented to the Emperor', in the 38th year of the reign which corresponds to A.D. 1593[95].

The demand by Man Singh for the cession of the temple of Jagannath at Puri and its sorrounding district to be used as a crownland, was a very important clause of the treaty. The latter article highly flattered the Raja and his Brahmin counsellors. But this article gives much credit to the diplomatic mind of Raja Man Singh. As a shrewd politician he not only understood the position of the Afghans in a predominantly Hindu territory, but also the sentiment of the Oriyas to the worship of Lord Jagannath. In order to win the goodwill of the Hindus and alienate the Afghans from Hindu sympathy, he laid much more emphasis on the point that Lord Jagannath should not be disturbed and no harm should be done to the royal Zamindars. This was storke of diplomacy which aimed at conciliating the Hindu sentiment and create a congenial atmosphere for posing the Mughals as the saviour of Hindu religion against the brutal aggression of the Afghans and thereby preparing the ground for the crushing of the Afghans.[96]

The treaty of 1590 was neither favourable to the Afghans nor to the king of Orissa. Raja Ramachandra Deva, who always resented the appointment of a Mughal custodian at the temple of Jagannath was highly displeased with the Mughal way of deciding peace. Though the treaty was made there was no reference to the position of the king of Orissa nor he was recognised as the custodian of the temple of Jagannath. Rather to the chagrin of him the temple with its surrounding places was brought under the direct administration of the Mughal Emperor.[97]

The same treaty brought an unexpected change in the political situation of the country. The enemies of king Ramachandra Deva, i.e., Telinga Ramachandra Deva and Chhakadi Bhramber, the two sons of the late king of Orissa, Mukunda

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Deva, so long disappointed in their effort to recover their old throne, now were encouraged and decided to place their legitimate claim to the throne of Orissa before Raja Man Singh for favour of necessary action.[98] Madla Panji says, 'In the 12th Anka (10th year) of Ramachandra Deva a son of Telinga Mukunda Deva complained to the Padshah of Delhi. The Padshah sent Raja Man Singh to Orissa saying, "He who is the leader naika of Orissa should be made the Raja (of Orissa)"[99].

Although the emperor was not at all pleased with the arrangements made by Man Singh, he did not dissolve the agreement. But the Afghan opposition did not come to an end with the death of the brave Qutlu Khan Lohani or with the treaty of A.D. 1590. The peace was maintained by the Afghans so long as Khwajah Isa, Qutlu's Vakil and the wise regent of the young king Nasir, was alive. But within a year Khwajah Isa died. Soon after his death Nasir Khan with his followers broke the treaty, captured the temple of Jagannath from the Mughal custodian and seized the crownland of Puri, attacked Vir Hamir Singh of Bishnupur who had proved himself loyal to the Mughal emperor and also plundered the estates of those who refused to join him in rebellion.

The Afghan risings were looked with grave concern at the imperial Court. Raja Man Singh regretted the treaty he had formerly made, and projected another campaign, for which he received the Imperial permission. The forces of Bengal and Bihar were named for service. Man Singh left Bihar for Orissa on 3 November 1591. This time to harass the enemy from both directions divided his army into two divisions. One division under his command marched by water route down the Ganges and was joined by the local Zamindars. The other division proceeded by the land route through Jharkhand (Sambalpur) under the commandership of Yusuf Khan Chak, the former king of Kashmir. When the army reached Bengal, Sayeed Khan, the Subahdar of the province, was ill ; but as the business was urgent, the Raja pushed on without him. When Sayeed recovered, he followed the army, and joined it with

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many chiefs and 6500 horses. The Mughal force occupied all the country near about Jaleswar. The crafty Afghans sought to make peace, but experience had shown what their professions were worth, and a deaf ear was turned to their propositions by Man Singh, though some of the amirs of Bengal were in favour of an amicable settlement. Due to this difference in the tactics of war to pe adopted, the Bengal officers instead of cooperating with the plan of Man Singh, sat down at long distance, though the Afghans had entrenched their position. However, Man Singh in spite of this ordered an advance of his army.

The Afghans, alarmed at these preparations, assembled all their forces and having retreated across the Suvarnarekha river, waited there the approach of the imperialists. The contending armies continued for some time encamped opposite each other and daily skirmishes took place between their light troops. At length, the Afghans recrossed the river and placing too much dependence upon their elephants, rushed with violence upon the imperial army. A severe battle was fought. At the beginning of the fight, the Mughal rank was not properly coordinated. So the Afghan charge seemed to bring discomfiture in the imperial force. The situation was however saved due to the march of soldiers from the rear at the right moment. The Afghans who mainly depended on the elephants were subjected to great inconvenience at the incessant fire poured on them from the imperial artillery. The superiority in artillery and archery, enjoyed by the Mughals brought disaster to the Afghans. The contest lasted nearly the whole day, at length the Afghans gave way and sought their safety in flight. 300 Afghans died in the battle-field and the royal army lost forty men.

The victorious Mughal army pursued the enemy and took possession of the city of Jaleswar. Here Man Singh had the Khutba read and coins struck in the name of the Emperor. The defeated Afghans had no more courage or strength to offer any effective resistance to the enemy. They returned towards the interior of Orissa, Man Singh chased them from behind. The local Hindu Zamindars paid him reverence and submission. While Man Singh was thus engaged with the Afghans, Sayeed

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Khan, Deputy Governor of Bengal, tired of campaign and envious of the victory, honour, prestige and reputation enjoyed by his superior officer Man Singh, left the army and retired to Bengal, withdrawing all his forces[100].

Ramachandra Deva, the king of Khurda, was ever suspicious of Raja Man Singh. The appeal of Telinga Ramachandra Deva to Man Singh for placing him on the throne of Orissa confirmed his suspicious to a greater extent. He apprehended that in case the Mughals would be victorious in the battle, he would be deprived of his "gaddi". In view of this he decided to try his lot with the Afghans and fortifed the fort of Sarangagarh (near Barang railway station) which appears to have been under his control[101].

When the victorious Raja Man Singh reached Bhadrak, it was reported to him that the Pathans had assambled in the fort of Sarangagarh In the words of Akbarnama :

'In the town of Bhadrak, news was received that the sons of Qutlu and Khwaja Sulaiman, Dilwar Khan, Jalal Khan, Bahadur Kurub, Ulugh Khan, Abdul Ghafur, Malik Haibat, Malik Daud, Kaham Karn, Rajah Manu, Malik Sikandar and Purukhotam had collected in the fort of Cuttack with 300 elephants. That fort is at the end of the country and on the sea shore It belonged Rajah Ram Cand, who was a great land holder in that country. It was called Sarangagarh. Rajah Man Singh left Sujan Singh ..and want off to attack the fort and the Afghans took refuge in the forest near the sea. The fort was taken without a contest'[102].

From the above description, it is known that Man Singh posted one division at Bhadrak and chased the Afghans towards Cuttack. Soon the capital of the Afghans fell into the hand of the Mughals. The Afghans as their last resort took shelter in Sarangagarh, occupied by Ramachandra Deva of Khurda. The Purukhotam mentioned in the description is Purushotam Dev, the son and successor of Ramachandra Deva. During this time Alwa Khan, the commander of Qutlu Khan, was in charge of the fort of Aul. He was surrounded by the Mughal army and the attack was so vigorous and severe that he was compelled to

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surrender the fort to the imperialists. 'Near Kalkalghaiti[103], the Tila Raja, who is distinguished land-owner in the past, joined the victorious army'. This Tila Raja is probably the son of Telinga Mukunda Deva, who according to the Madla Panji, complained to the Padshah of Delhi, and on whom Raja Man Singh conferred the fort of Aul. As Aul had just been surrendered to Man Singh by the Pathans, it is very probable that the Tila Raja (Telinga Raja) received it as a reward for his loyalty[104].

As it appears the fort of Sarangagarh was well fortified and ably defended by the Hindu Raja. It was situated about five miles south-west of the town of Cuttack, the ruins of which exists to-day. It is said, it was constructed by Chora Ganga (A.D. 1104-1111), the founder of the Ganga dynasty. It occupied a strategic position and was regarded as a second line of defence of the Raja of Orissa after the fall of Cuttack. Being situated on a bank of a river, the east was defended by natural boundary. But due to the lack of correct geographical knowledge of Orissa, wrongly it has been mentioned in Akbar-Nama that Sarangagarh was being situated on the sea shore.[105]

The event which followed after the capture of Cuttack by Man Singh has been narrated by Abul Fazl in the following manner :

'Rajah Ram Cand admitted those who had taken protection to Sarangagarh. When Rajah Man Singh came to Cuttack he left Yusuf Khan...and others, to guard it, and went off to pay his devotions at Jagannath. His idea was that he would be nearer to Rajah Ram Cand, and that when an opportunity occurred he could lay hold of him. When his thought had been realised he returned and took up his quarter near Sali. Every-day active men went forth and inflicted chastisement, In consequence of counsels he (Rajah Ram Cand) became obedient, and sent his son Birbal (Harmal) with presents. The Rajah returned to Cuttack and established the foot of conquest near the fort of Sarangagarh.[106]

Just during this time when it was the primary duty of Man Singh to demolish the fort of Sarangagarh, and occupy all other

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forts and places, south-west of Cuttack which were still under the sway of the enemy he proposed to go on a pilgrimage to Puri. Such a religious tour was not becoming of a politician like Man Singh. This strange and unexpected move on the part of an astute diplomat was bound to receive censure in the eyes of common man. But Man Singh, while proceeding to Puri had two things in his mind.

Firstly, he saw the capitulation of the fort of Sarangagarh was a very difficult task. Even though with hard fight he could capture the fort it would not give him final victory over, the Raja, because a large number of forts to the south-west of Sarangagarh was in the enemy's possession, where he could take shelter. He thought if he could launch an attack on the homeland (i.e., at the capital Khurda) the Raja would be deluded and forced to submit to him.

Secondly, as the attack would be made at the capital, the reinforcement would not be forthcoming from Khurda to the fort of Sarangagarh. Believing to achieve two things at one strike, he kept it as a secret. He gave out that he was going to pilgrimage to Puri.

In accordance with his plan Man Singh started for Puri. There was no difficulty in crossing the rivers Kathjuri and Kuakhai which were almost dry. It appears the Mughals with Man Singh went along the side of the river Kuakhai in the north-east and passing through Balakati posted near Pipli, one important place, now on Jagannath trunk road twenty-five miles from Puri and began to occupy the neighbouring places.

The approach of the Mughal army in the neighbourhood of Khurda infused fear into the heart of the Raja. He clearly saw through the diplomacy o Raja Man Singh and his intention to advance towards his capital. That is why he wished to come to terms with him. He not only sent his son, Birabar, with plenty of presents in order to win the favour of Man Singh and also expected that such voluntary submission would ensure his position as king of Orissa and the temple of Jagannath and neighbouring places now included in the crownland would legally pass into his hands.

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But Man Singh desisted from acceding to the proposal of Raja because on the one hand he was unwilling to be generous to a man who was fighting hand in hand with the Afghans against the Mughals. His sincerity in entering into negotiation could not be trusted. On the other hand, Telinga Ramachandra Deva had appealed to the emperor previously as the supreme arbitrator to give his final decision on the rivalry of the two claimants and sided the cause of the Mughals by not giving shelter to the Afghans, the bitter enemies of Mughals. There was very likelihood that he would always prove faithful to the emperor.

The attitude of the Mughal general clearly appeared to be very much disappointing and unsatisfactory to the expectation of Raja of Khurda. As no suitable reply was forthcoming from Man Singh as to his proposal, the Raja of Orissa changed his mind and made necessary preparations to fight against the Mughal general. Other circumstances were too favourable to him for such a decision.[107]

While Man Singh went towards Puri, on his pilgrimage, he left Yusuf Khan Chak, the Kashmiri, in charge of Cuttack. But the small number of soldiers stationed at Cuttack somehow with much difficulty could check the troublesome activities of the Afghans who were always watching for opportunity to rise against the Mughals. But in other directions they were more active. The encampment of Man Singh at Pipli induced the Afghans to reestablish their power in the north side of Orissa. The dispersed Afghans now attacked in the rear. Fath Khan Hijli, Habi Khan, Darya Khan, Sujawal Khan and Mewa Khan invaded Jaleswar and forced Babu Mankali to give up the place.[108]

Thus by two subsequent attacks without being able to destroy the powers of Ramachandra Deva, Man Singh now made vigorous preparations to invade Khurda in January 1593. In this connection Akbarnama says :

'At this time the home of Ram Cand was plundered. He is one of the famous Zamindars of Orissa and by the glory of His Majesty's star he became obedient and sent his son to do

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service. Rajah Man Singh summoned him and he objected. The Rajah from inappreciativeness consigned his goodness to oblivion and sent Jagat Singh, Mir Sharif Sarmandi, Mir Qasim Badakhshi, Barkhurdar, Abul Baqa, Mehmud Beg Shamlu, Shihabuddin Diwana and others to wage war on him A commotion arose Ram Cand entered the fort of Khurdah which was the strongest of his fortresses. The imperialists took up their quarters close by and proceeded to attack the country. The forts Sahajpal (?), Khargarh, Kalupara, Kahnan, Longarh, Bhunmal, and many populated places fell into possession. On hearing of this, H.M. who appreciates dignities became angry and issued censures. The Rajah recalled his troops and apologised. Ram Cand on seeing the graciousness of H.M.. took the thought of paying his respects. On 21 Bahman he visited the Rajah (Man Singh) and was treated with much respect.[109]

Thus from the above reference it is known that at this stage Man Singh demanded the personal attendance of the Raja and asked him to appear before him. But Ramachandra Deva who had already studied the mind and attitude of Man Singh and unable to receive the consent of Man Singh to his proposal of being recognised as the Gajapati, evaded waiting on him. The attack of the Afghans on Jaleswar offered another opportunity to the Raja of Orissa to defy the command of the Mughal general.

Three major problems, i.e., the Afghan rising at Jaleswar the defiance of Raja Ramachandra and failure of the Mughals in taking the fort of Sarangagarh were rising before Man Singh. As taking up the three problems simultaneously was a very difficult matter, he first of concentrated his attention to the attack of the Afghans in Jaleswar. He sent Pahar Khan and others against Fateh Khan and his companion. The Afghans were repulsed and the place was recovered. The Afghans now surrendered and waited upon Man Singh. The Mughal victory at Jaleswar brought fresh reinforcements to Cuttack. After a hard fight, the fort of Sarangagarh was surrendered to the Mughals.[110]

Even before the fall of Sarangagarh, Man Singh in order

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to chastise the Raja sent an expedition into his territory under the commandership of his son Jagat Singh. The latter started from Pipli towards Khurda. He was confronted with a series of impediments on the way. The Raja being the head of the kingdom of Orissa had a large number of forts and cities under his control. Most of them were situated on both sides of river Daya. The Qilladars stationed in these forts were entrusted with the defence of these forts. The advance of the Mughals towards Khurda, necessitated terrible fight against the enemy at each fort, they had to pass over. The forts and cities which fell into the hands of the Mughals are named in Akbarnama as Sahajpal, Kharagarh, Kalupada, Longarh situated near Delang P.S. of the Puri district and Bhumall, Kahnan near Jatni P.S. of Puri district.

At the approach of the enemy, the Raja of Khurda shut himself in the well fortified capital at Khurda, at the fort of Barunai which was well protected on one side by the Barunai hill and on the other by the dense jungle. He sent reinforcement from the capital on the small forts on both the sides of river Daya. Although the six forts mentioned above fell into the possession of the enemy, a few other forts remained still unoccupied and the Raja of Khurda was also safe inside his formidable fort.

In spite of the hard fiight of the Mughals, the idea of scoring an easy victory against the Orissa Raja vanished in face of such difficult problems. Raja Man Singh was not successful to force the surrender of the impregnable fort in any manner.

The other problems rising along with it were equally difficult the tackle. Apart from the failure to take the fort of Khurda and the second difficulty with which Mughals were confronted was the rising of the Afghans. The Afghan snake though shocked was not killed. After a small interval of their submission they again appeared and were united to create fresh trouble in different parts of Orissa.

Thirdly, the adamant attitude of the Raja of Khurda, in the Khurda fort was looked upon with suspicion. It was apprehended that the rigorous attitude shown towards the Raja

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might throw him into the hand of Mohammad Quli Qutlu Shah, the Sultan of Golcunda. The kingdom of Golcunda which was rising in power was enjoying independence and for the last few years was interfering with the southern part of Orissa. There was every possibility that too much pressure on the Raja would make him an ally of the Sultan of Golcunda as a result of which another difficult problem together with the Afghan rising would be faced by the Mughals.

Fourthly, it was afterwards discovered that the popular opinion was in favour of Raja of Khurda against the Telinga Ramachandra Deva. Telinga Ramachandra Deva was not able to win the sympathy and goodwill of the people. To entrust such a grave responsibility of administration of Orissa to the son of Telinga Mukunda Deva might endanger the Mughal cause in the distant land of Orissa. Afterwards it was rightly considered that the recognition of Ramachandra of Khurda as the king of Orissa would do no harm to the interest of the empire. Rather it would be conducive to the Mughal empire in two ways. Firstly, it would not only make the Raja more loyal to the emperor of Delhi, but also would please the king and sentiment of the people of Orissa.

Considering all these points the emperor Akbar disapproved the aggressive attitude of Man Singh shown to an old dynasty which had already acknowledged the sovereign power of the Delhi emperor by sending his son to attend Man Singh. Man Singh now received censure from Akbar and he was ordered to withdraw the troops which were engaged in harrassing the forts of Khurda Raja[111]. There upon Man Singh recalled his troopsland apologised before the emperor for his fault. Raja Ramachandra being impressed with the liberal and kind policy of Akbar, met Man Singh in person, which he had refused to do previously.

As to who would be recognised as the king of Orissa, it is stated in Madla Panji, that Badshah sent Man Singh to Orissa and said 'who is the Naik (Leader) of Orissa would be made the Raja of Orissa'. The story of the subjugation of Raja Ramachandra Deva and the award of the throne to him by Man Singh is thus narrated in the Madla Panji :

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'In the 12th Anka (10th year) of Ramachandra Deva a son of Telinga Mukunda Deva complained to the Padshah of Delhi. The Padshah sent Raja Man Singh to Orissa saying, "He who is the leader (naik) of Orissa should be made the Raja (of Orissa)". Raja Man Singh came to Puri accompanied by the son of Mukunda Deva. Ramachandra Deva met him. When the Chandana Yatra was celebrated, the priest asked Man Singh, "whom should we give the gaddi prasad", share of offering to the God due to the occupant of the gaddi or throne". Man Singh bad then by him both Ramachandra Deva and the son of Mukunda Deva. He looked at both and said the preists, "Bring the gaddi prasada". The priests brought the gaddi prasada accordingly. In the presence of the goddess Bimala Raja Man Singh offered the gaddi prasada to Ramachandra Deva, and made him Raja of Orissa. He conferred Aul on the son of Mukunda Deva. Thus was the kingdom divided'[112].

Thus the censure of Man Singh from the emperor changed the shape of the whole affairs. He now changed his mind and became more generous towards the Raja of Khurda in coming to the terms of a treaty. The idea of placing on the throne, the son of Telinga Mukunda Deva was, however, discarded. The assurance given to the Raja of Khurda not to disturb him from his position reposed confidence within his heart. When it was found that Man Singh was really sincere in his dealings towards the Raja and as a proof it had already withdrawn his army, he found no reason to resist the Mughals any longer. Such unexpected change he never anticipated. Taking this opportunity he wished to perpetuate his friendly relation with the throne of Delhi. So he agreed to personally wait upon Man Singh (31 May, 1593). Moreover, he expressed his desire to give his daughter in marriage to Man Singh.[113]

According to the terms of the treaty Raja Ramachandra Deva was allowed to retain the principality of Khurda comprising seventyone forts which had been given to him by Todar Mal. Apart from this Man Singh made him the master of the estates of thirty other feudal lords containing 129 Qillas or forts, As calculated the total area covered 13,935 sq. miles, while his

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own principality comprised 1392 sq. miles. The total area included the modern districts of Ganjam, the tributary states of Angul, Athgarh, Banki, Baramba, Daspala, Dhenkanal, Khandapara, Narsinghpur, Nayagarh, Banpur, Talcher and Tigiria, the estates of Darpana in Cuttack and the fiscal division of Andhari, Bajrakot and Parganas, Rahanga, Sirai, Lembai and Chhabiskud of Puri district.[114]

It was settled that Ramachandra Deva would pay the revenue to the imperial treasury instead of paying to the Afghans. He was conferred with the title of Maharaja and was promoted to the rank of a commander of 3500 horses.[115] In the Mughal court it was a high and honourable title. Ramachandra being conferred with all these honours, instead of staying under the control of the Mughal administrator of Orissa remained directly under the authority of the Emperor at Delhi and sent tribute of revenue to the Delhi Royal treasury. All the responsibility of the temple of Jagannath also remained in the hands of Ramachandra. Other members of his family also were favoured with the charge of different forts and Qillas. According Stirling :

'Khurda with Purusotham Chattar and certain mahals were assigned in Zamindari tenure, free of all tribute, Ramachandra Deo, with the title of Maharaja, and the Musalman dignity of the commandership of 3,500. He was also allowed to exercise the chiefship or sovereignty of over, and to collect tribute from 129 of the Killahs on jurisdictions of the Khatris of Orissa, including all the present Cuttack tributary Mehals south of the Mahanadi, and the Estates of Gumsar, Moherry etc. reaching as far as the borders of Khemdi in Ganjam'.[116]

However, the open support of Man Singh to the claim of the son of Telinga Mukunda Deva in the earlier part of his campaign in Orissa was not unknown to the people. The rumour as to the recognition of the son of Telinga Mukunda Deva as the king of Orissa by the Mughals was probably still in current although terms of negotiation had already been carried on between Man Singh and the Raja of Khurda. Man Singh who by this time had received instructions from the emperor

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and had already entered into terms with Raja of Khurda had no alternative than to recognise the Raja Ramachandra Deva of Khurda as the king of Orissa. The religious sanction to the recognition as king was given in front of Bimbalai nearby the temple of Jagannath.

Though the claim of Telinga Ramachandra Deva as king of Orissa was forfeited, Man Singh wished to gratify him in other way. The man reposing so much confidence in Mughal general was not to please one in order to incur the displeasure of the other. In that case the Afghans not entirely suppressed would get the better of the situation and utilise the sympathy and cooperatton of the discontented Hindu chiefs for their own ends. Again by placing both of them on some estates, the mischief of one Hindu chief would be balanced by the loyality of other to the emperor in case of future trouble in Orissa.[117]

Considering this, Telinga Ramachandra Deva, son of Telinga Mukunda Deva, was acknowledged as the Raja of the fort of Aul with its dependencies. The other son of Mukunda Deva, Chhakadi Bhramarbar was made the hereditary chief of Patia. A large number of Qillajat estates in different parts of the district were brought under his control[118].

R. D. Banerji has commented about the gain of kingship by Ramachandra Deva in the following manner :

'The final conquest of Orissa by the Mughals under Man Singh inaugurated a new era in the political history of the country by the establishment of a new dynasty of Hindu kings in that country under the suzerainty of the Mughal emperors. Ramai Raotra or Ramachandra Deva succeeded in persuading or bribing the Mughal general into nominating him as the 'Gajapati' under peculiar circumstances'[119].

This statement of R. D. Banerjee according to Dr. B. C. Roy is not feasible. Neither Man Singh established a new dynasty nor Ramachandra Deva was appointed by the Mughal general nor he was the new Gajapati.[120]

Before the advent of Man Singh to Orissa Ramachandra Deva had already been the king of Orissa. The management of the temple of Jagannath was being performed by him. His succession

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to the throne of Orissa did not wait for the sanction of the Mughal emperor of Delhi, because he being the son of a very powerful minister Danai Bidyadhar received the approval of all the leading people of Orissa to act as a king after a period of anarchy for some years. Man Singh had nothing to do with the establishment of a new dynasty. The statement that Ramachandra obtained recognition as Gajapati through the personal favour of Man Singh is not right. Because from the beginni g of the Ganga dynasty, all the kings of Orissa took the pride of adorning their names with the pompous title of Gajapati. His succession to the throne of Orissa did not depend on the personal pleasure of a Mughal general. Man Singh was not free to impose his own will in recognising whomsoever as the king of Orissa, only because he liked or disliked one or other. From the standpoint of political expediency, from the nature of the difficult political atmosphere where the Afghans were creating repeated trouble and defying the Mugal suzerainty and considering the public opinion of Orissa, only alternative which was left to Man Singh was to accept the thing as it was. Moreover he had to carry out the order of the Mughal emperor. In doing so he was only showing proper justice to the broad and generous principle which was being applied to different Hindu kingdoms during the time of Akbar. Akbar's treatment towards the Hindu kings was very generous and liberal. In his confederacy, whether one was a Hindu or a Muslim was allowed to be a member. He never interfered with the internal sovereignty of the state or internal administration of the king who acknowledged the sovereign authority of the emperor. He did not like to depose a king by replacing a favourite choice of his own simply because he once opposed him. On what he laid more emphasis was the recognition of his overlordship, acknowledgment of his sovereign power. Though the chief of Ranthamber Surjana Hara once defied the suzerain power of Akbar, the Government of the state was not taken away from him to be handed over to a different man.

He was, however, accorded with the honour of a Rajput chief when he latter on realised his mistake and acknowledged the sovereign power of the emperor. The same thing was true

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in case of the Raja of Orissa (Raja Ramachandra) and with other kings of India.

Ramachandra Deva of Khurda had already recognised the suzerain authority of Akbar by sending his son to attend or Man Singh. There was no reason why he should not enjoy the status of the grandees of the court of Akbar like the other Hindu chiefs who were privileged to enjoy such position. Accordingly he was made a Maharaja and paid due honour.[121]

Some other scholars'[122] have also regarded the statement of R. D. Banerji as completely baseless. Because Ramachandra Deva had already established his position in Orissa much before the invasion of Man Singh.

In this connection the view of Stirling is also important. In his words :

'The title of sovereignty has been always acknowledged by the general voice and feeling of the country, to vest in the Rajas of Khurda, though disputed formerly by the other branches of the royal house who have now sunk into entire insignificance. The former received by for the largest and most valuable portion of the country. In Man Singh's allotment the cession of Puri alone was a sufficient acknowledgement of their superior claims'.[123]

After ably settling the Mughal rule in Orissa, Man Singh despatched an army against Manpur (Banpur) fort which existed between Orissa and Telingana. The fort was oocupied without much trouble and Raja Man Singh gave it to Ramachandra Deva.[124] Why the Mughal army attacked Banpur is not known. By that time the Sultan of Golcunda had occupied the area till to the Chilika lake and that area was known as Telingana. Perhaps to check the advance of the Sultan of Golcunda from the south towards Orissa, this invasion had been sent.

Besides the above mentioned sources about the conquest and the establishment of Mughal rule in Orissa by Man Singh, there is also inscriptional evidence to this effect. The reference of this we get in the Srijang inscriptions of Achuta Baliar Singh Mohapatra, issued in A.D. 1595 and 1598, now preserved in the

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Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Apart from this Man Singh's invasion of Orissa has been also mentioned in the literary work of the Oriya poet Dinakrushna Das's "Rasabinoda" written in between A D. 1689-1705.[125]

Thus the province of Orissa was again annexed to the imperial dominions. But it did not bring peace to the Mughals in the eastern provinces. In A.D. 1595, when the Afghans under Khwaja Sulaiman and Khwaja Usman attacked Puri, Man Singh again invaded Orissa, and re-annexed that province to the Delhi empire.[126] At this stage, Man Singh thought it was dangerous to implant the surviving Afghan chiefs like Sulaiman and Usman so near to Orissa where they had long traditions of authority and large number of followers. So he cancelled their new assignments and asked them to wait on him. At this the Afghan chiefs raised standard of disturbance, plundered Orissa and Satgaon and joined Isa Khan in eastern Bengal. Thus the Afghan royal power subverted in West Bengal and Orissa was established a new in East Bengal beyond the Brahmaputra river.

With a view to take charge of the government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Man Singh laid the foundation of a new capital in Bengal at Rajmahal on 7 November 1595, as a place which could to some extent be safe from attack by boats.....the foundation was laid in a fortunate hour, and in a short time there was a choice city to which the glorious name was given.[127] Here he built a palace and constructed a rampart of brick, strengthened with bations, all round the town.

From this new capital, Man Singh started on 7 December 1595 on an expedition to conquer Bhatti from Isa Khan. Much of Isa's territory fell into Mughal possession. The enemy failing to resist, crossed Brahmaputra. Man Singh encamped at Sherpur (Mymensing) and built a fort there which he named Salimnagar.[128] During this period Man Singh married the sister of Lakhminarayan, Raja of Kuch-Bihar who had declared himself a vassal of the Mughal empire.[129]

In the rainy season of 1596, Man Singh took up his quarters in Ghoraghat where he fell seriously ill. This encouraged Isa Khan, Masum Khan and other half-subdued Afghans. They again

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took up arms and proceeded against the imperial camp. A Mughal detachment under the command of Man Singh's son Himmat Singh advanced against the Afghans. The latter took to flight and much booty feel into Mughal hands.[180]

But the troubles did not subside. Isa Khan in alliance with Raja Raghudev of Kumrup attacked Raja Laksminarayan of Kuch-Bihar. In response to Laksminarayan's request for help, Man Singh detached his son Durjan Singh to march upon Katrabhu, the very seat of Isa Khan Isa and Masum arrived with a large number of war boats. They surrounded the Mughal detachment and in a hot engagement, they overwhelmed the imperialists slew Durjan Singh and took some prisoners. Isa though victorious tho ght i' prudent not to attack the Mughal and to come to terms Accordingly, he sent back the prisoners, promised never to attack the Mughal vasal. Laksminarayan once more professed his loyalty to the Mughal emperor. Two years after Isa Khan having died, one standing meance to Mughal authority in Bengal was removed

In A.D. 1598, under the order of the emperor, Man Singh left Bengal to join the Dakhin war in order to help prince Salim[181]. Thinking that the Afghans, in consequence of the death of their leader Isa Khan, would remain quiet, Man Singh appointed his son Jagat Singh his deputy, and joined prince Salim at Ajmir. Jagat Singh died after a short time and was succeeded by Maha Singh, a grandson of Man Singh. Thus Man Singh although was absent in the province of Ajmir, kept the government of Bengal in his own hands, thinking that all would go on quietly and according to his wish. The Afghans under the leadership of Usman used this opportunity and broke out in rebellion. Maha Singh and Pratab Singh made light of this and attacked the Afghans at Bhadrak, but were defeated. The province was not lost, but the rebels got possession of some places[182]. This encouraged the Afghans to further aggressions and they inflicted defeats on several imperial detachments. The news of these reverses having reached the emperor, the latter at once sent back Man Singh to Bengal. Akbar also directed prince Salim to unite his forces with those of Raja Man Singh

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to reduce the eastern rebels. But the prince deferred his departure and merely hunted towards Allahabad.[133]

Man Singh arrived at Rhotas and near Sherpur Atia inflicted a severe defeat to the Afghans in 1601. The Afghans fled away and were pursued a few miles by Mughals. After this victory, Man Singh paid a visit to the emperor, who promoted him to a (full) command of Seven Thousand. Hitherto Five Thousand had been the limit of promotion. It is noticeable that Akbar in raising Man Singh to a command of Seven Thousand, placed a Hindu above every Muhammadan officer, though, soon after, M. Shahrukh and M. Azia Koka were raised to the same dignity.[134]

Man Singh remained in Bengal till 1605, when the sickness of the emperor induced him to resign his appointment in order to be in the capital. To this effect an Imperial farman was issued investing Prince Salim with the government of Bengal and Orissa, and directing him to despatch his officers to take possession of those two provinces. Raja Man Singh was, at the same time, ordered to transfer the provinces and to return to court.[135]

By his works Raja Man Singh had not only pleased the people of Orissa, but also had made him ever memorable in Orissa. The Mughal rule became most popular in Orissa, and Akbar due to his liberal administrative policy received the respect and affection of the people of Orissa.

Causes of the failure of Afghan resistance

With the retirement of Raja Man Singh from Bengal, the Mughal-Afghan hostilities practically came to an end. Although with the death of Daud Karrani, Afghan central authority broke down, still the veterans of Daud's army and some of his relations continued the struggle against the expanding Mughal power in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The reasons of the failure of Afghan resistance are not far to seek. The lack of some sort of a central organisation made the position of the Afghans weak since the death of Daud Karrani. After the collapse of the Karrani dynasty, the Afghan generals and

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soldiers lay scattered in the eastern provinces and being left leaderless continued to pursue their personal designs quite unmindful of any united action. There was complete lack of unity in the camp of the Afghans. While on the other hand, there was unity of command in the imperial camp as every general and soldiers had to carry on his duty under the supreme command of the emperor. The desertions in the Mughal camp sometime constituted a great threat to the imperial government. But ultimately the imperial court succeeded in suppressing the Mughal rebels and thereby reasserting the central command. The resources of the Afghans were extremely limited and weak and it was never possible for them to continue their struggle for an indefinite period against the powerful and resourceful Mughal empire. The entire Mughal empire was at the back of the Mughal campaigns in the eastern provinces. Raja Man Singh's appointment in Bengal considerably weakened the Afghan resistance as the Raja succeeded in winning over quite a large number of Hindu landlords to the imperial side and thereby depriving the Afghan chiefs of the active co-operation of the Hindu landlords and their subjects. In this context the friendly relations which was latter on established between the Khurda king Ramachandra Deva and the Mughal emperor may be cited which produced tremendous influence on the Hindu landlords of Orissa.

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2. *Riyaz*, p. 154.
3. *Tarikh-i-Dauai*, E. & D., Vol. IV, p. 510.
4. *Riyaz*, p. 154.
5. *Tarikh-i-Badauni*, E. & D., Vol. V, pp. 511f ; *A.N.*, E. & D., Vol. VI, pp. 39ff.
6. *T.A*, op cit., p. 372.
7. *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 376.
8. *T.A.*, op.cit., p. 372ff.

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9. Dorn, *History of Afghans*, p. 182.
10. *A. N*, E & D., Vol. VI, pp. 44ff; *T. A.*, op.cit., pp 380ff.
11. *T. A.*, op cit., p. 384.
12. In the Hughli district between Bardwan and Midnapore. Vide *Ain*, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 406.
13. A place lying between Bengal and Orissa. Vide *A. N.* (Bev), Vol. III, p. 99.
14. *T A*, op.cit, pp. 384f.
15. *Ain.*, op.cit, Vol. I, p. 364.
16. *T. A.*, op.cit.
17. *T. A.*, op.cit., p. 386.
18. Garh-Haripur is eleven miles south-east of Danton station.
19. Blochmann has identified it with the village of Mughulmari, a place situated on the road from Medinipur to Jaleswar. The village of Tookaroe is two miles from the left bank of Subernarekha river. There can be no doubt that this Tookaroe is the Takaroi, of the Akbarnama. The battle extended over a large ground Badoni (II, p. 195, l.3) speks of three, four kos, i.e., about six miles and thus the distance of Takaroi from Mughalmari is accounted for.
20. *Ain.*, op.cit.
21. Altamash is a Turki word meaning "Sixty", and it is applied to a force placed at the head of an army between the advanced guard and the general. (Vide: *E. & D.*, Vol. V, p. 387, f.n.).
22. *T. A.*, op.cit, pp. 384ff.
23. Abul Fazl calls the place 'Bhadrak'. Vide *Ain.*, op cit., p. 407.
24. *T. A.*, op cit., p. 388.
25. *A. N* (Bev.), Vol, III, p. 107.
26. *T. A.*, op.cit., p. 388.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *A. N.*, (Bev.), Vol. III, p. 108.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *T. A.*, op.cit., p. 389.

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31. *A. N*, (Bev.), Vol. III, p. 185.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *T. A.*, op.cit., pp. 389-390.
34. *Ain.*, op cit., p. 404. As Munim Khan left Thandars in Bhadrak and Jaleswar, Daud must have been restricted to Cuttack proper. Munim's invasion of Orissa was certainly one of the most daring exploits performed during Akbar's reign.
35. *T. A.*, op.cit, p. 390.
36. *A. N.* (Bev.), Vol. III, p. 140.
37. He was influenced by two reasons. It was on the side of the river nearest to Ghora-Ghat, the seat of the rebellion, and it contained many handsome and convenient buildings. *Ibid.*
38. *T. A.*, op.cit., pp. 394f.
39. In this connection Abul Fazl says "In Safar 983, Munim Khan returned, and though his army had terribly suffered from epidemics on the march through southern Bengal, he quartered them against the advice of his friends at Gaur, where Munim soon after died of fever". *Ain.*, Vol. I, p. 334.
40. *T. A.*, op.cit., pp. 394f.
41. After the conclusion of the peace treaty with Daud, Todar Mal had left for Delhi. He arrived at court in the 21st year of the reign of Akbar, with the spoils of Bengal and elephants. These he presented to the Emperor, and made a report upon the state of affairs. He received many marks of favour, and was promoted to the pligaity of Diwan, and to the charge of the revenue and civil affairs of the Empire. Vide *A. N.*, E. & D., Vol, VI. p. 53 ; *Ain*, op.cit., p 376.
42. *Ain.*, Vol. I, p. 350.
43. *Ibid*, p. 404.
44. *Ibid*, p. 350.
45. *T. A.*, op cit., p. 396f.
46. *Ain.*, op.cit., p. 350.
47 *T. A.*, op.cit., p. 397 ; *Ain.*, op.cit., p. 350.

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48. Or "Ak-mabal" or Ag-mahal, afterwards called "Raj-mahal" by Raja Man Singh, when governor of Bengal. The ancient name was Raja-griha. Vide *E. & D.*, Vol. V, p. 397, f n.
49. *T A.*, op.cit., pp. 397 ff ; *Ain.*, op.cit., p. 350.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *T.A.*, op.cit., p. 399 f.
52. *T.A.*, op.cit., pp. 399 f ; *A.N.* (Bev.), Vol. III, p. 252 ; *Ain.*, op.cit-, p. 350.
53. *A N.* (Bev.), op.cit.. p. 255 ; *T.A.*, op.cit., p. 400.
54. *T.A.*, op.cit., p. 400.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid*, p. 410.
57. Mishra, K., *Utkal Itihasa*, 2nd edition, 1933, p. 195.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 195 f ; *Ain*, op.cit., pp. 374f.
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60. *Ibid.*, p. 416; *Ain.*, op.cit., p. 375.
61. *T.A.*, op.cit , p. 417 ; *Ain.*, opcit., pp. 376f.
62. *Asiatic Researches.*, Vol. XV, p. 43.
63 Rajguru, S., *The Chalukya Family of Orissa, O.H.R.J.* VI I (Ap. 1957), 11-50 ; Stirling, A., *'An account of Orissa proper or Cuttack*. Asiatic Researches, XV, 1924, p.42ff.
64. *Stirling, A.*, op.cit. 'In A.D. 1582, the celebrated Dewan of the empire, Raja Todar Mal, or as the urjas call h'm Todar Mall, visited the province, to superintend the introduction of his settlement called the Taksim Jamma and Tankha Raqmi ··· All the account which is preserved of that important and memo-able transaction, is, that···He is said to have treated the Raja (Rama-chandra Dev) with much respect, and to have admired greatly the temple and image of Jaganna'h, but his proceed-ings must have been fatal to the power and authority of the Gajapati prince, as he seems to have annexed nearly the whole of his domains to the imperial rent roll.
65. *Madla Panji*, p. 62.
66. *Striling, A.*, op.cit., 43.
67. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII-I, 24.

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68. *Madla Panji*, op.cit., 63 ; J.B.O.R.S., XIII-I, 24.
69. *Stirling, A.*, oc. cit., 86
70. Mohapatra, K. N., '*Khurda Itihasa*, pp. 1 ff; O.H.R.J, VI-4, 227-40.
71. *History of Orissa*, I., 350.
72. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XV, 195-200; O.H.R.J., VI, 23-28.
73. *Mohapatra, K. N*, op. cit., 22.
74. *Briggs.*, pp. 463 ff.
75. *Ibid*, op. cit., pp. 469 ff.
76. *O.H.R.J.*, I, 48.
77. *Mishra, K.*, op. cit., p. 194.
78 *A. N.* (Bev.), Vol. III, p. 594, 600 ; *A. N.*, E. & D., VI, pp. 68ff ; *T. A.*, op.cit., pp. 68ff.
79. *A. N.*, op.cit., ; *T. A.*, op.cit.
80. *A.N.* (Bev), Vol. III, pp. 658f.
81. *Ibid.*
82. Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 203.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *A.N.*, E. & D., Vol. VI, p. 69.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *District Gazetteers, Cuttack*, p. 32.
87. Jahanabad is now named as Aram-Bagh in the Midnapore district of West Bengal, the then frontier between Bengal and Orissa.
88. *A. N.* op.cit., p. 86.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*
92. *Ibid.*
93. *P.I,H.C.*, 1950, 244.
94. *A. N.*, op. cit., pp. 86 f.
95. *T. A.*, op. cit., p. 466.
96. *P.I.H,C.*, (1950), pp. 244f.
97. *Ibid*, p. 245.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Madla Panji*, p. 63 ; *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII-I., 24.

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100. A. N. (Bev.), Vol. III, pp. 934ff; *Ibid.*, E. & D., Vol. VI, pp. 88f; T. A., op.cit., p. 465.
101. *P.I.H.C.* (1950), 246.
102. *A. N.* (Bev.), op.cit., p. 941.
103. Kalkala is 15 miles north of Cuttack, lying on the direct road from lower Keonjhar to Cuttack. (Vide *District Gazetteer*, Cuttack, p. 245).
104 *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII-I, 25.
105. *O.H.R.J.*, XV-3 & 4, 67.
106. *A. N.* (Bev,), op.cit., p. 941.
107. *P.I.H.C.*, (1950), pp. 247 f.
108. *A N.* (Bev), op.cit. pp. 940f.
109 *Ibid*, pp. 967f.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *P.H.I.C*, (1950), pp. 249f.
112. *Madla Panji*, pp. 63f : *J.B.O.R.S.*, VIII-I, pp. 24f.
113. *P.I.H.C.*, (1950), 251.
114. Stirling, A., "*An Account of Orissa proper*", p. 86.
115. *Ain*, I, op. cit., p. 548.
116. Stirling, A., op.cit , p. 86.
117. *P.I.H.C.*, (1950), 252.
118. Stirling, A., op.cit., p. 86.
119. *History of Orisso*) Vol II, pp. 9f.
120. *P.I.H.C* (1950), 252.
121. *Ibid.*
122. Mohapatra, op.cit., p. 32.
123. *Stirling, A.*, op.cit., p. 86.
124. *A. N.* (Bev.), op.cit., p. 969.
125. Mohapatra, K. N., op cit., p. 9.
126. *Ain*, I, op.cit., p. 362.
127. *A. N.* (Bev.), op.cit., p. 1042.
128. *Ain*, I, op.cit., p. 362.
129. *Ibid*, p. 362.
130 *Ibid*, p. 363.
131. *Ibid.*
132. *Ibid* ; *A.N.*, E.D., Vol. VI., p, 98.
133. *Takmila-i-Akbarnama*, E. & D., Vol. VI, p. 104 f.
134. *Ain*, I., op.cit., p. 363.
135- *Takmila-i-Akbarnama*, op.cit., p, 105.

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Chapter Four

MUGHAL RULE UNDER JAHANGIR IN ORISSA

Akbar was overtaken by a fatal illness in October 1605 and a quarrel began on the question of succession between Salim and Khusru. Round the death-bed of the Emperor there raged a whirlwind of intrigue and treachery, plotting and counter-plotting, negotiation and stratagem. The Khan-i-Azam Aziz Koka who acted as the Viceregent of the empire, filled all the posts in the fort with his own followers, and planned a coup de main in support of Khusru.[1] Man Singh, the Governor of Bengal and Orissa, also joined in this plot. He remained in Bengal till 1013 A.H. (A.D. 1604-5) when the sickness of Akbar induced him to resign his appointment in order to be present in the capital.[2] But finally the conspiracy failed. Khan-i Azam himself submitted to Salim and was received with all honour and respect. Raja Man Singh realized that his plans had hopelessly miscarried. He took Sultan Khusru under his charge and prepared next day to take boat for Bengal.[3]

Reassured on all sides, Salim proceeded on his last visit to Akbar. The emperor was still breathing. No sooner did Salim bow at his feet then he opened his eyes. He asked his attendants to invest the prince with the turban and the robes and to grid him with his own dagger. They obeyed and paid their last homage by prostration. The emperor bowed and closed his eyes for ever.[4]

After a week mourning, Salim formally ascended the throne in the fort of Agra on Thursday 24 October, 1605 and assumed the lofty title of Nuruddin Mohammad Jahangir Padshah Ghazi.[5] On his accession he announced a general amnesty for recent political squabbles and confirmed the tenure of all officers, high and low.[6] Jahangir at first prudently conciliated Raja Man Singh, exchanged forgiveness and forgetfulness of the past with him and sent him as Governor (Subahdar) of Bengal and Orissa.[7]

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In the mean time, the first Gajapati King of Khurda kingdom, Ramachandra Dev I, the founder of the Bhoi dynasty, had died in 1600. He was succceded by his son Purushottam Dev (A.D. 1600-1621). According to Stirling, Ramachandra Dev I ruled till 1609[8] and according to Hunter, he ruled uptil 1607.[9] R. D. Banerji also tentatively accepted the above mentioned dates due to the lack of any other evidence.[10] But recent researches show that Ramachandra Dev I actually died in 1600 and was succeeded by his son Purushottama Dev in the same year.[11] Purushottama appointed Balavadra Rajguru Mohapatra, the son of the late Rajguru or Prime Minister of his father as his Prime Minister. But unfortunately both the King and the Prime Minister were weak and cowardice in nature.[12] Khurda, interspersed with hills and jungles, had been overrun by the Mughals under Akbar's reign, but had never been really subjugated. It was a semi-independent Hindu kingdom, the territory of which extended to the sea-coast and included the city of Puri with its famous temple of Jagannath. Therefore, every Mughal Subahdar, by invading this semi-independent Hindu kingdom, was trying to satisfy the Mughal Emperor. Thus, in the reign of Purushottama Dev, Khurda was invaded several times by different Mughal Subahdars.

Man Singh, after being appointed as governor by Jahangir, perhaps ruled Orissa through his Naib-subahdar (Deputy governor) Mirza Khurram alias Kamil Khan.[13] The latter invaded Puri just after the death of Akbar. Purushottama Dev fled away with the image of Jagannath and took shelter in Kapileswarpur at a distance of eight miles from Puri.[14]

Though Jahangir had pardoned Man Singh in beginning, it was impossible for him to forget the injuries he had sustained, during his days of depression. So in 1605, 'the old wolf', as Jahangir called Raja Man Singh, was replaced as the Governor of Bengal and Orissa by Qutubuddin Khan Koka, who was raised to the mansab of 5000[15]. But he was killed in the fight with Sher Afghan, the former husband of Nurjahan, at Burdwan.[16]

In the reign of Akbar, Orissa was ruled as a part of the

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Bengal Suba. For the first time in 1607, Orissa beeame a separate province and Cuttack became its capital, with the ancient Barabati fort as the residence of the Mughal Subahdar[17]. Hashim Khan was appointed as the first Mughal subahdar in 26 September, 1607[18]. As some of the prominent nobles, e.g., Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal, Mirza Tahir, Mirza Nur, Mirza Qasim, Mirza Abdullah, Mirza Yusuf and some other Mansabdars, who at the time of the death of Jahangir Quli Khan[19] had left the Thanas of the province and had come to Akbarnagar, were sent back to Hashim Khan, to serve in the province in their respective places. One of them, Raja Kalyan, however, delayed to return[20].

Iradat Khan, the governor of Bihar, had sent during that time some of his personal officers to purchase elephants from Orissa. At the time when these elephants were purchased and were being brought, a group of mischievous Afghans, who were still wondering in Orissa, under the leadership of Qamaruddin Pani who was one of the brave warriors of the age, fell upon the men of Iradat Khan. They seized the elephants as well as the gifts and rare articles which were brought in compliance with the desire of the Khan, and raised a rebellion. After a week Raja Kalyan reached that place with a huge army and learnt that the imprudent Afghans had advanced much in their design and now blocked the way against him. A group of timid people advised the Raja to fall back. But Raja Kalyan Singh, with the idea that if he would make a retreat, he might court a defeat and scandal, and it would be impossible for him to show his face before Islam Khan, the governor of Bengal and other nobles of the state of Orissa. It would be also difficult for him to explain his conduct before the imperial enquiry. So he ordered the 'Nagarchi'[21], to beat the drum of war relying absolutely on God[22].

He advanced with four divisions of the army. No sooner had he advanced then the Afghans offered a great battle. At first they attacked the vanguard of the Raja and then the right and left wing of the army. But Raja Kalyan having strongly 'fixed the foot of bravery', did not fall back an inch, and his companions held back the enemy with overpowering force. In

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the meantime the Afghan leader Qamaruddin Pani was killed in the battlefield. At the death of their leader the affairs of the Afghans were reduced to great straits and they fled away to the forests. Raja Kalyan took possession of the elephants, goods chattels of Iradat Khan as well as of a large quantity of booty which was hoarded by these Afghans by means of highway robbery. He sent these things to Islam Khan and marched towards Orissa to meet Hashim Khan at Cuttack[33]. Perhaps this battle was fought in some place of the Bihar-Orissa frontier. Islam Khan sent a report of these affairs to Emperor Jahangir recommending favour to the Raja for his loyal service. Jahangir accepted the requests, honoured Kalyan Singh with the gift of a standard and an increase of 200 in his Mansab[34]. This account his also been corroborated by the memoirs of Jahangir. The emperor records: 'At the request of Islam Khan, Raja Kalyan was appointed to the government of the Sarkar of Orissa and had an increase in rank of 200 personnel and horse"[35].

During the subahdarship of Hashim Khan the temple of Jagannath at Puri was treacherously seized by a Rajput Chieftain in Mughal service. Hashim Khan and other Mughal officers of Orissa decided to invade the territory of the semi-independent Khurda king Purushottam Dev and other Zamindars of Orissa. This decision was taken with the aim of either to force them to offer voluntary submission or take them prisioners and send them to the imperial court. In that period, a Rajput known as Raja Keshodas Maru was a Jagirdar in Cuttack. While Hashim Khan, was resolving plans for the conquest of Khurda, Keshodas Maru, "whose loyalty to self and to sovereign had extinguished all reverence for truth and religion", brought matters to a crisis. Raja Keshodas thought it would be cowardice on his part to wait for the help of others. Therefore, he decided to undertake the invasion of Khurda himself. Under pretence of a pilgrimage, he visited the temple of Jagannath and treacherously seized it with its property estimated at more than two or three crores of rupees. He subjected the Brahmin priests to torture to extort the hidden wealth. He barricaded himself therein and converted the holy edifice into a fort[36]. This happened when

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the car festival (Gundicha Jatra) was going on and the image of Jagannath was then in the Gundicha house. Therefore, the attention of all the people was towards the Gundicha. This gave an opportunity to Keshodas to enter the temple with his Rajput soldiers with the plea of visiting the temple[27].

The news reached Raja Purushottama Dev of Khurda. He thought that before the end of the rainy season and the arrival of the imperial officers, he would chastise Raja Keshodas Maru and produce such an effect that no one else would dare to commit such an act of sacrilege. Purushottama marched from Khurda with a force of 10,000 cavalry, three or four lakhs infantry and a large number of raths (chariots)[28] each drawn by hundreds of men. The Oriya soldiers laid seize to the temple. Ten to twenty chariots were brought close to the walls of the temple and the soldiers from here charged the Rajputs and put them into a very serious plight. But Raja Keshodas defended himself with true Rajput valour. His followers, took out long poles from under the roofs of the houses, and wrapping them (their ends) with canopies, canvas, and cloths of the Farrish Khana (store-room), soaked them in mustard oil and ghee, set fire to them and threw them on the chariots which were close to the temple. All on a sudden people who were at the top of the raths, were burnt in huudreds. Many others in groups of two hundred to three hundred were trampled under one another's feet in their hurried flight. The Oriyas unable to fight any longer, took to flight leaving the chariots burning. Keshodas and his Rajput followers defended themselves heroically which was even admired by the Oriyas. But many of his followers were slain in the struggle, and only 400 soldiers were left with him in the temple enclosure.[29]

The Raja of Khurda, on hearing of the defeat of his army, was disheartened and consulted his Wazir Bijadhar.[30] This Bijadhar can be safely identified with Balavadra Rajguru Mohapatra who had been appointed as the Rajguru or the Prime Minister by Purushottama Dev in the beginning of his reign. As mentioned earlier, he was weak and cowardice in nature. So he advised Purushottama Dev to make peace. An

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ambassador was accordingly sent to Keshodas Maru and negotiation for peace were carried on. But the negotiations were protracted as Keshodas dictated the terms of peace which were not acceptable by the Raja of Khurda.

The difficulties of Keshodas Maru having gradually increased, news reached Islam Khan, the governor of Bengal, at Ghoraghat, who sent orders urging Hashim Khan and other Mughal officers at Cuttack to march immediately to the aid of Keshodas. Khwaja Tahir Muhammad Bakshi was sent in order to censure Hashim Khan and other imperial officers. He proceeded swiftly and reached Hashim Khan at Cuttack within a few days. He reprimanded the officers as directed, and asked them to send aid to Keshodas Maru. On the other side, Raja Purushottama Dev considered that even before the arrival of the imperial forces, he had to experience difficulties with Raja Keshodas Maru and therefore, if he were to deal with all the imperial officers, he would be utterly routed. So on hearing of the new danger, he was disheartened and agreed to make peace on rather humiliating terms. Purushottama Dev sent an envoy offering :

i) to send his daughter to the imperial harem,
ii) to pay three lakhs of rupees as a 'peshkash' (tribute) to the Imperial exchequer,
iii) to give his own sister in marriage to Raja Keshodas Maru, and
iv) to pay one lakh rupees as Nal Bandi (light tribute or present) to the Raja and his men.[81]

Raja Keshodas Maru was not content with it. But his officers induced him, in view of the severe loss of his men most of which had been killed in the encounter with the Oriyas, and he was staying in the temple with a force of four hundred soldiers only, to accept these terms, instead of holding for more. So Keshodas Maru accepted the terms of peace offered by Purushottama Dev.

Before the arrival of Khwaja Tahir Muhammad and the despatch of Hashim Khan, Keshodas to go to Khurda for his marriage and to bring the bride for the Emperor with the

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Peshkash. He left Puri with only forty horsemen, in order to put Raja Purushottama Dev at ease without any fear of danger. Keshodas was duly married at Khurda at an auspicious moment. After the marriage as Purushottama Dev gave him only a lean worthless elephant, Keshodas became angry. Therefore, he seized the big eleghant and five female elephants which were posted as guards at the palace gate, and set off without taking leave. He first sent his newly married wife on a horse. Being irritated due to this incidence the Oriya soldiers raised a commotion from all sides. But he killed a large number of Oriya soldiers and fled away to Puri through the pass of a hill. After arriving at the Jagannath temple, he sent one of his subordinates to the Raja, demanding the bride for the Emperor and other articles according to the treaty. He wrote to the Raja : "If you desire your well-being you must surrender those things personally here ; otherwise you shall feel the consequences". Thus the Raja out of fear was compelled to send those things with apologies[82].

Raja Keshodas, after the arrival of the bride and the imperial 'Peshkash', awaited the arrival of Khwaja Tahir Muhammad Bakshi, Hashim Khan and other imperial officers. When they arrived at Puri, out of anger, Keshodas refused to meet them, as he did not receive timely help from Hashim Khan, the governor of Orissa. At last, at the entreaties of the Khwaja, he agreed to meet them. After the first meeting, he sent them all to their respective places and posts. Then he sent away his four hundred Rajput soldiers to their homes and disbanded them, saying, "If you people, through cowardice, had not compelled me to agree to these terms of peace, I would have never done so"[83].

After the return of Hashim Khan and other imperial officers to Cuttack, Khwaja Tahir returned to Ghoraghat. He met Islam Khan, the governor of Bengal, and explained to him the whole incident as it took place. Islam Khan sent a representation to Jahangir, recommending for promotion and grant of a standard to Raja Keshodas Maru. The Emperor promoted Keshodas to the rank of 4,000 horse and presented him with a

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robe of honour, and a bejewelled saddle, in order to draw the attention of others to such deeds of valour. This invasion had taken place in A.D. 1609-1610[84].

In the Madla Panji, the invasion of Keshodas has also been mentioned in brief. It says that (Keso Maru) in the disguise of a pilgrim, came to Puri, while the car festival (Gundicha Jatra) was going on and occupied the temple. He burnt the three chariots. Keshodas fought with the Raja Purushottama Dev and killed many. At the 14th Anka (1610 A.D.) of Purushottama, Hashim came to Puri. Therefore, the image of Jagannath was taken away to Khurda and was kept in the Gopala temple. In the 15th Anka (1611 A.D.), Purushottama Dev brought it to the temple of Puri.[85]

The accounts of Madla Panji shows that there is some exaggeration in the description of Baharistan-i-Ghayabi of Mirza Nathan. As he had written these accounts from Gauhati believing in the hearsays, mistakes were obvious, By hearing the burning of three chariots, he had written that many chariots were burnt. Perhaps the three chariots of the car festival were utilized by Purushottama Dev to attack Keshodas Maru which is clearly known from the description of the chariots (raths) given in the Baharistan-i-Ghayabi. Likewise, the description of Mirza Nathan that Purushottama Dev attacked Keshodas Maru with three to four lakhs of soldiers is also unbelievable.

Considering from this point, the terms of peace as mentioned by Mirza Nathan are also not acceptable. It has been mentioned that the king of Khurda had sent his own daughter to Delhi as a term of the treaty. If it would have happened, Jahangir must have mentioned this in his memoirs. But there is no mention of these terms in that. If Keshodas Maru had defeated Purushottama completely then the governors of Bengal and Orissa would not have sent soldiers to save him and Keshodas would not have abandoned his Rajput soldiers for their cowardiceness.[86]

If at all the terms of peace were correct then certainly Purushottama Dev had befooled Keshodas Maru. Because the sister of Purushottama to whom Keshodas Maru married and

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the daughter which was sent to Delhi, were not the real one. According to Chakradhar Mohapatra, in this humiliating circumstance, the Prime Minister of Purushottama Dev advised the princes to escape. Both the princes fled away from the palace on horse back.[87] In due course of time, the daughter of Purushottama Dev had married the Chauhan king of Sambalpur known as Maharaja Balavadra Sai,[88] and Purushottama's sister had married to Raja Harihar Singh of Narsinghpur.[89]

However, Jahangir was pleased with Keshodas Maru, as being a Hindu he had attacked and plundered the famous Hindu temple of Jagannath. For this Keshodas became a favourite of the emperor which has been mentioned in his memoirs. Thus: "Keshodas Maru, who is a Rajput of the province of Mairtha and is greater in loyalty than his contemporaries. I promoted him to the rank of 1500"[90].

During this time Ibrahim Khan, the Subahdar of Kashmir died in his expedition against the Raja of Tibet. Therefore, Hashim Khan, the governor of Orissa was appointed to the post of governor of Kashmir. Raja Kalyan Singh, the son of Todar Mal was now appointed as the governor of Orissa in 1611 and remained in-charge uptill 1617[91]. He too followed the footprints of his predecessors, in acquiring wealth by oppressive methods. He tried to imitate the achievement of Keshodas Maru. In order to please emperor Jahangir, he raided and devastated the Khurda kingdom of Purushottama Dev in 1611, Mirza Nathan has mentioned:

"The Raja (Kalyan) thought in his mind that he would accomplish such a service which would not only draw the attention of his master but also would keep the high and low of that region under his control. He then put in the forefront of his mind the idea of the conquest of Khurdah and marched against Raja Purushottama Dev. When a large portion of his territory was attacked and looted, Purushottama Dev having put on the collar of obedience in his neck, sent his envoys to tender apologies and expressed his desire to surrender. He offered his daughter as a present for the service of the Emperor and three

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hundred thousand rupees as peshkash to the imperial exchequer and the best of his elephants named Sisnag for the use of the Emperor. Thus he submitted to the imperialists by handing over the bride to the Raja with a hundred thousand rupees and saved him from the attacks of the Raja and the imperial officers. The Raja after gaining the victory returned to Cuttack, and sent the bride (dolah) along with the elephant Sisnag and all the peshkash in cash and kind in charge of trustworthy officers to the august court.[42]

It has also been mentioned in the Tuzuk that shortly after 24 August 1617, the Emperor viewed the eighteen elephants sent to him by Raja Kalyan from Orissa[43].

The raid of Raja Kalyan also has been described in the Madla Panji. From its accounts it is known that Raja Kalyan first established friendship with Das Bidyadhar, the able commander of Purushottam Dev. But when Bidyadhar met Raja Kalyan in his camp, Bidyadhar was killed by treachery. After this he killed sixteen other Oriya generals. Therefore, the Oriya soldiers attacked the Mughal army and drove them out from their kingdom and occupied upto Cuttack. While Raja Kalyan was flying away to save his life, he was killed in Baghsarpur near Pipili[44].

The murder of Das Bidyadhar also has been mentioned in 'Surisarbaswam', a Sanskrit manuscript written by the poet Govinda Samantaray.[45]

But there is much difference in the description of Baharistan-i-Ghayabi and the Madla Panji on the raid of Raja Kalyan. The fact (as mentioned in the Madla Panji) that Raja Kalyan was killed in Khurda is not true. Because from Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri it is known that Raja Kalyan returned to the Mughal court in 1617 and then was attached to the force of Mahabat Khan in Kabul[46].

The fact as mentioned by Mirza Nathan that Raja Purushottama Dev sent his daughter to the Emperor, is also unbelievable. Because according to the traditional custom, the Gajapati Kings never keep the daughters, in their home, after the birth. They are sent either to the house of some close

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relative or to the maternal uncle. Even now this tradition is maintained in the Gajapati family. Therefore, Raja Kalyan might have sent some other girl to the Emperor in order to please him. On the other hand Jahangir has not mentioned anything about this in his 'Memoirs'. Therefore, the description of Mirza Nathan may not be accepted as truth. Only the capture of the elephant 'Sisnag' and the Peshkash which was sent to the Emperor is true, as this has been mentioned in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri[47].

In the first year of Raja Kalyan's Subahdarship, Ushman Khan Lohani, the leader of the Afghans, rebelled against the Mughals. Ushman Khan was a son of Isa Khan Lohani, who became the leader of the Afghan in Orissa and southern Bengal after the death of Qutlu Khan[48]. Ushman had received lands Orissa and Satagaon from Raja Man Singh. But these jagirs were later on substituted for lands in Mymensing, the portion of which are still held by his descendants[49].

When Ushman rebelled, Islam Khan, the Governor of Bengal appointed Shujaat Khan to suppress the same. In order to encourage Shujaat Khan in his expedition against Ushman, Islam Khan managed to secure the subahdarship of Orissa for him by removing Raja Kalyan. Shujaat Khan sent his eldest son Shaikh Qutb to Orissa to officiate in his place and he himself started against the rebellions Ushman[50]. Ushman Khan was defeated by Shujaat Khan at Nek Ujyal in the northern part of Dacca district and the Afghans finally submitted. After this Shujaat Khan also died from a fall from his elephant[51].

Though Raja Kalyan was discharged by Islam Khan, even then he remained in his office with full authority and Shaikh Qutb failed to take charge from him. Because Raja Kalyan had been discharged by Islam Khan without the Emperor's approval. Therefore, when the news was sent to Jahangir by the agents of Raja Kalyan, the Emperor issued a fresh order and reinstated him in the governorship of Orissa.[52]

However, after this Raja Kalyan remained in-charge of Orissa upto 1617. In the mean time some charges were brought against him for which he was recalled to Delhi. On the 8 Sep-

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tember, 1617, he waited upon the Emperor to explain the charges of misconduct. An enquiry was made by Asaf Khan and he was found innocent. He was then given a robe of honour and a horse and was attached to the force of Mahabat Khan in Kabul[53].

That Raja Kalyan was the subahdar of Orissa is also known from the 'Dancing Hall Inscription' of Sarbamangala temple situated in the Kasiari village of the Midnapore district of West Bengal which had been inscribed by Raja Purushottama Dev of Khurda. It is known from this inscription that this dancing temple (Hall) was constructed in 1537 Saka era (A.D. 1615) while Sri Shah Salim (Jahangir) was the Emperor (of Delhi) and Sri Raja Kalyan was the Subahdar (of Orissa)[54].

The successor of Raja Kalyan to the Subahdarship of Orissa was Mukarram Khan, son of Muazzam Khan. Mukarram Khan like his two predecessors had also invaded Khurda. This has been mentioned by Jahangir in his 'Memoirs' in the following manner :

"Intelligence arrived from the eastern provinces that Mukarram Khan, son of Muazzam Khan, who had been appointed to the governorship of Orissa, had conquered the territory of Khurda ; and the Raja had sought protection at the court of Raja Mahendra. As a reward of this service, the Khan was favoured with a mansab of 3000 personal allowance and the command of 2000 horse. He was also honoured with a Kettledrum, a horse and a Khilat. Between the province of Orissa and Golkonda, there were the territories of two zamindars, viz., the Raja of Khurda and the Rajmahendra. The territory of the former have been taken possession of by the servants of my Government, and it is hoped that through the influence of the Emperor's prosperous star, that of the later will also be soon added to the protected countries"[55].

From the above description, it is known that Mukarram Khan invaded, devastated and annexed Khurda. It is also clear that the Khurda kingdom was very powerful Khich had defied the Mughal rule. Therefore, Jahangir was pleased with its

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annexation. The Subahdar was also highly honoured in the Mughal court for his conquest of Khurda.

The description of this invasion is also found in the Madla Panji :

"In 21st Anka (of Purushottama Dev) Makram Khan came. On the 22nd day of Dhanu invaded Khurda. Murdered the Sakhigopal Parmeswar (image of Jagannath) was taken away from the temple and was kept inside the river in a boat at Gabarpadar near Banpur··· The Raja with his family hided himself in the Manetri fort near the frontier of Banpur. In the 23rd Anka of the Maharaja Makram Khan went away (from Khurda)".[56]

There is much similarity in both the accounts. But the description of the Panji is more clear. Keshodas Maru and Raja Kalyan had not invaded the fort of Khurda. But Mukarram Khan was successful in driving out Purushottama Dev from the Khurda fort and occupied it for a year. The Raja of Khurda took shelter in the Manetrigada. Lord Jagannath was also removed from Puri to a safer place. Therefore, there is no doubt that this time the invasion of Khurda was more severe in nature. Jahangir in his 'Memoirs' has recorded about Purushottama Dev's taking shelter in Rajmahendra. But this is not correct as he recorded it from hearsay. The fact that Purushottam had hidden himself in Manetri fort is believable.[57]

Mukarram seems to have remained in Orissa till 1620.[58] In the later part of his rule, Bahadur Khan Hijliwal, the zamindar of Hijli was summoned to render helpful services to the governor of Bengal, Ibrahim Khan. But he, in intrigue with Mukarram Khan, did not come to Ibrahim Khan.[59] Therefore, strict orders were issued by the latter to Md. Beg Abakash, the Faujdar of Bardwan, to punish Bahadur Khan. When the Faujdar started his expedition for Hijli from Bardwan, Bahadur Khan wrote a letter to Mukarram Khan for help. Mukarram Khan failed to understand that this was an affair concerning the Zamindars of Bengal with which Orissa had no connection. He despatched a troop of 1,000 cavalry to the aid

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of Bahadur. Three battles were fought. Md. Beg, after raiding some of the villages and outposts of Hijli, communicated the true state of affairs to Ibrahim Khan.[60]

In the meantime, an imperial Farman was issued to the following effect :

"As Ibrahim Khan does not agree to the transfer of Mukarram Khan, Mirza Ahmad Beg[61], whom we[62] honoured with the title of Khan", should be sent to assume the Subahdarship of Orissa.[63]

It seems that Ibrahim Khan did not agree to the transfer of Mukarram Khan. Because he wanted to punish Mukarram Khan for his help given to Bahadur Khan. In the meantime, Ibrahim Khan had perhaps appointed from his own side Hasan Ali Turkman to replace Mukarram Khan in Orissa.[64] But perhaps to avoid a quarrel between the two imperial officers, the above mentioned imperial Farman was issued. It seems that Hasan Ali Turkman remained in the Subahdarship of Orissa only for a short period while he was replaced by Jalair Khan by the orders of Ibrahim Khan, as mentioned by Mirza Nathan.

It is stated by Mirza Nathan that through the mediation of the wife of Ibrahim Khan, Jalair Khan was appointed to the govenorship of Orissa on a promise of a 'Peshkash' of Rs. 300,000 from his income. Therefore, Mirza Ahmad Beg Khan, sent a representation to Her Majesty Nurjahan Begum. A fresh Farman was issued to Ibrahim Khan to the effect that if Jalair Khan had gone to Orissa, he should be recalled and Ahmad Beg should be sent to assume the governorship of Orissa. So Ibrahim Khan was compelled to send Ahmad Beg Khan to Orissa to assume the charge of Subahdarship.[65] He became the Subahdar in 1620. In the meantime Mukarram Khan had left Orissa and reached the court after March 1821 and was made the Subahdar of Delhi and Faujdar of Mewat.[66]

Ahmad Beg Khan had also invaded Khurda, which has been mentioned by Jahangir in his 'Memoirs'. "It so happened that at this time Ahmad Beg Khan...had attacked the Zamindars of Khurda[67] This has also been mentioned in the chronicles of the Jagannath temple in the following manner :-

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"In the 25th Anka (A.D. 1610-1620) Subahdar Ahmad Beg came. He went uptill Banpur in the North. The king (Purushottama Dev) fled away to the Khanati village in the 27th Anka (A.D. 1620-1621)"[68].

Thus with the invasion of Ahmad Beg, Purushottama fled away from Khurda and took shelter in the Khanati village which may be Manatri fort. Here he died in 1621.[69]. His Prime Minister, Balavadra Rajguru Mohapatra, while going to the Manatri fort, was killed by a Mughal.[70]

Purushottama Dev was succeeded by his son Narasingha Deva (A.D. 1621-1647). The 22 year old young son of Balavadra Rajguru became the Prime Minister of the new Raja. His name was Dharmadeva Rajguru Mohapatra. He was energetic and courageous and moved from village to village to encourage the people to rebel against the Mughals. The Mughal Subahdar Ahmad Beg came to know that Narasingha Deva was preparing an attack on Cuttack, the capital of Mughal Orissa. He sent a threatening letter to the new Rajah upon which the latter denied the allegation. The Mughal Subahdar demanded that Narasingha Deva, should send his family members to Cuttack for their stay there as hostages for his allegiance and good behaviour. But the Raja did not agree.[71] So Ahmad Beg attacked Khurda once again in 1623 which has been mentioned in the Madla Panji in the following words :

"In the 4th Anka (1623) of this king (Narasingha Deva) Ahmad Beg asked to take the king's family to Cuttack. So the king from Andhari Mahima went to Manatri fort... This Maharaja had surrounded Ahmad Beg near the Mangalajodi fort ; from where he escaped towards Cuttack.[72]

Ahmad Beg was busy in this invasion when the rebellions Prince Khurram entered Orissa. The former was forced, therefore, to withdraw from Khurda.

Disputed succession and the consequent rivalry and jealousy among princes of the royal blood, ending in their revolt against the reigning sovereign, were the curse of the Mughals. Salim was the first to rebel against his father Akbar ; Khusru did the same against Jahangir, only to be followed by his brother

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Khurram, better known as Shah Jahan. Third in seniority, Shah Jahan was, in energy, ability and military talents, the foremost amongst his four brothers, and was marked out to be the heir apparent to the throne. But his hopes of a peaceful succession were frustrated, mainly on account of the jealousy and intrigues of Nur Jahan. The prince was in open rebellion towards the end of 1622. It was a critical moment for Mughal empire. In fact, the revolt, which lasted well over three years, threw the whole empire into great confusion.[74]

Jahangir was shocked to get the news of Shah Jahan's rebellion[74]. The Imperial Government made all preparations with urgency to suppress it. The supervision of the Imperial affairs was given to Mahabat Khan and Prince Parwiz[75].

In between December 1622 and September 1623, Shah Jahan faced many encounters with the Imperial army and was finally driven out of Burhanpur. He decided to cross the river Tapti and enter to territory of his former enemy, the king of Golconda, and escape thence into Orissa and Bengal.

In the meantime an imperial Farman was issued promptly to Ibrahim Khan, the Subahdar of Bengal :—"News has come from the Deccan that on the departure of Prince Parviz from the imperial court, Prince Shah Jahan, being annoyed, has left Burhanpur and entered into the wilderness. It is not known where he is going. Therefore, do not neglect the affairs of Orissa and of Ahmad Beg Khan. Arrange the affairs of that region in such way that no harm may reach that region from the wrath of the light of the lamp of greatness (Shah Jahan)". Accordingly, Ibrahim Khan began to write advisory letters to Ahmad Beg Khan, the Subahdar of Orissa and he kept himself informed about the movements of the rebellious prince. But both of them took an indifferent attitude and no measure was taken to obstruct the passage of Shah Jahan.[76] Some writers[77] assert that Ahmad Beg Khan was taken unwares by Shah Jahan. But this is in direct contradiction to Nathan's statement which appears to be supported in substance by the Tuzuk and Iqbal-namah. Ahmad Beg Khan was already informed by Ibrahim Khan about the probable advance of Shah Jahan towards

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Orissa. The authorities in Bengal and Orissa were fully aware of the movement of the Prince. But their cowardice or negligence had given an easy triumph to Shah Jahan in Orissa and Bengal.[78]

Shah Jahan, in order to save himself from the relentless pursuit of Mahabat Khan, redoubled his pace and reached Golconda and begged the help of its ruler Muhammad Qutbshah. The Sultan of Golconda sent Shah Jahan a small amount of cash and some goods. At the same time, he instructed his officers to offer him supplies and also help him otherwise, so that he might pass through the kingdom as quickly as possible. Shah Jahan took twentyfour days to reach the port of Masulipatam where he stayed for five days to take rest[79] On 10 November 1623, he struck his camp at Masulipatam, and turning towards northeast, soon entered Orissa, through the Chhatar Diwar pass.[80] At the news of his imminent entry into Orissa, Prince Parwiz and Mahabat Khan were ordered by the Emperor to move towards Allahabad, and Bihar, and if necessary, to Bengal, to prevent the rebel prince from securing a footing there[81].

After crossing Chhatar Garh pass, Shah Jahan arrived safely at Khurda. The Raja of Khurda, Narasingha Dev welcomed him and accepted his suzerainty. Mirza Nathan has stated that Raja Purushottoma Dev had welcomed Shah Jahan[82]. But this is not true as by that time Purushottama Dev was dead and had been succeeded by his son Narasingha Dev.[83] The following account is found from Madla Panji about the Orissa invasion of Shah Jahan :

"In the 5th Anka (of Narasingha Dev) Patisha Shahjan came from the south. The Raja met him. 800 elephants were with the Patisha. 14,000 horse and 100,000 infantry were also with him. Raja (Narasingha Dev) went with him uptill Jajpur. He returned from there with robe of honour. Patisha went to Patna (Bengal). Parmeswar, who had been kept at Manetri was being worshipped there. Raja Bhim came to Sri Purushottama and brought the Brahma to Puri and arranged for its worship. During these days Shah Quli Khan had become the Subahadar".[84]

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The description of Madla Panji is being supported by the Persian histories. Only the time of invasion will be the 4th Anka (26 Aug. 1623 to 25 Aug. 1624 A.D.) instead of the 5th Anka. Raja Bhim or Bhim Singh as mentioned here was a famous Hindu general of Shah Jahan. He was serving under the prince as a faithful friend during his rebellion.[85] Thus after four years, Lord Jagannath was brought to the Puri temple with the help of Raja Bhim. The new Subahdar had not opposed it.

However, when Shah Jahan entered Orissa, Ahmad Beg Khan, the governor was engaged in a punitive expedition against the Zamindar of Khurda. At the news of the arrival of Shah Jahan at Manpur[86], the cowardly Subahdar gave up the campaign and hastily withdrew to Pipili.[87] Thereafter collecting his property he moved to Cuttack, 12 kos to the north-east. Though equipped with five to six thousand cavalry, Ahmad Beg Khan did not venture to face Shah Jahan. But not feeling himself able to make a stand even at Cuttack, he went to Bardwan and thence to Akbarnagar[88] to meet his uncle Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Bengal.

Orissa thus came under the possession of Shak Jahan without any struggle. He marched to Khurda, always careful to safe-guard his line of retreat by means of suitable garrisons at strategic points Raja Narasingha Dev the leading Zamindar of Orissa, tendered his submission here (as stated earlier), alongwith the Bhanja chief (of Mayurbhanj) and the Zamindars of Nilgiri, Panchira[89], and other Zamindars. From Khurda, Shah Jahan triumphantly moved to Cuttack, halting there for sometime to make necessary arrangements for the administration of the occupied area[90]. Mohammad Taqi, who was one of the devoted loyal servants, was appointed governor of Orissa with Cuttack as his headquarters, after he had been promoted to Mansab of 'Panj-Hazari' (5000) and was honoured with the title of Shah Quli Khan[91]. His appointment has also been mentioned in the Madla Panji as quoted earlier.

It was here that Captain Chanika[92], the Portuguese governor of Hugly, Pipli and other parts of the province, apparently

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apprehensive of an attack on the latter settlement, come to pay his respects of Shah Jahan. He presented five sea-elephant, and a sum of Rs. 100,000 in cash, besides many Jewels and other valuables. The rebel prince, extremely anxious to secure Portuguese help, particularly in ships and artillery, proved far from hostile and heartily reciprocated this friendly gesture. He loaded the Portuguese Chieftain with rare gifts from Kashmir and other places in India, and also gave him a few fine Iraqi and Turkish horses, besides ornamented saddelery and a sword.[94]

No substantial help, however, seems to have accrued to Shah Jahan as a result of this friendly interview. Because the Portuguese chief refused to be a party to his contest with the Mughal Emperor. But rather he rashly chose to insult Shah Jahan by telling him that he would not help a rebel prince[94]. So, after three days stay at Cuttack, he formally took leave of the prince.[95] Shah Jahan was disappointed and also enraged at this denial of help, but he prudently refrained from fighting at that time and prepared to resume his march towards Bengal[96]. He was escorted by Raja Narasingha Dev of Khurda uptill Jajpur[97]. From there Shah Jahan marched towards Bengal and soon reached Midnapore, the frontier town of Mughal Orissa on the east, whence a few more stages of march brought him to the vicinity of Burdwan.

The events which followed one after another, ended in the complete defeat of Shah Jahan. In spite of rapid changes in his fortunes during that eventful period, his control over the provinces of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal, had not been much impaired. But the provinces were at last lost. Though Shah Quli Khan, the Governor of Orissa, remained personally loyal to the rebel prince, that provinces slipped from his hands, as the Zamindars in a body shook off their allegiance and submitted to the Emperor Jahangir. Thus the rebel prince was soon driven, for the second time, to be a wandering exile. All hope of making another effort in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa having now been abandoned, Shah Jahan decided to return by the old route (across sarkar Mandaran, Midnapore, Orissa and Telingana) to the Deccan. He started his return march from

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Rajmahal in January 1625[98]. The event has also been mentioned in the Madla Panji[99], but the date mentioned is not correct. After the retreat of Shah Jahan from Orissa, Shah Quli Khan was defeated, captured and sent as a prisoner to the court by Rao Ratan Singh Hada.[100]

After the death of Shah Quli Khan, perhaps Ahmad Beg once again came Orissa as its Subahdar and continued till 1627. In Orissa, he was known as an oppressor which has been described in 'Rasika Mangala', a contemporary literary work written by Rasikananda.[101]

Ahmad Beg Khan was succeeded by Baqir Khin Nazim Sani. He was the last of Jahangir's Subahdars in Orissa. After few months of his appointment, Jahangir died on 28 October 1627 and was succeeded by Shah Jahan.

Thus with the death of Jahangir one chapter of Mughal rule in Orissa came to an end. During his reign, the process of conquest and consolidation continued. Under Akbar, the Mughals held only the northern portion of Orissa. The central portion was ruled by native princes with semi-independent powers but bearing the title of 'Mansabdars' in the Mughal peerage. The Qutb Shahis held the southern extremity of the province[102]. The southern Dandapatas of Orissa, namely Kalinga and Rajahmundry were lost in the latter part of Akbar's reign and had been included in the dominions of Sultans of Golkonda. The boundary, between the Mughal Orissa and Golkonda was fixed somewhere near the Rishikulya and next at the Chilka lake[103].

In 1618, Khurda was conquered by Mukarram Khan, which has been recorded by Jahangir in his Memoirs. But Jahangir's Subahdars of Orissa failed to recapture the two lost Sarkars (Rajahmundry and Kalinga Dandapat) from the Sultan of Golkonda. This is clear from the following lines recorded by Jahangir :

"...The province of Khurda has come into the possession of of the servants of the court. After this it is the turn of the country of Rajmahendra. My hope in the grace of Allah is that the feet of my energy may advance further. At this time

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a petition from Kutb-ul-Mulk reached my son Shah Jahan to the effect that as the boundary of his territory had approached that of the king (i.e , the Mughal Emperor), and he owned service to this court, he hoped an order would be issued to Mukarram Khan not to stretch out his hand, and to acquire possession of his country".[104]

In 1624, Jahangir got information about the march of Shah Jahan to Orissa with the help of the Qutb Shahi Sultan. In this connection the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri records the following which grows light on the extent of Mughal Orissa in the south

"At this time a report came from Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang that Ba-daulat (Shah Jahan) had entered Orissa. The particulars of this are that the boundary of Orissa and the Deccan there is a barrier.[105] On one side are lofty mountains, and on the other swamps and a river. The ruler of Golconda had also erected a wall (dar-band) and a fort, and armed it with muskets and cannon. The passage of men by that closed route was impracticable without the leave of Qutbul-Mulk. Ba-daulat, with the guidance of Qutbul-Mulk, having passed by that route, entered the country of Orissa[106].

From the above description an idea can be formed about the boundary between the two kingdoms The boundary line was somewhere near the modern Chatrapur in Ganjam district. It is evident that Kalinga Dandapata and Rajmahendry could not be recovered from the Qutb Shahis during the reign of Jahangir. This feat was accomplished during the reign of Shah Jahan.

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3. Asad Beg, *Widayah*, E. & D. Vol. VI, p. 170; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, I, p. 234; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 523.
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6. *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 7ff.
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8. *Asiastic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 294.
9. *Orissa*, Vol. II, Appendix VII, p. 190.
10. *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 33.
11. Vide Mohapatra, K., *Khurda Itihasa*, pp. 66f.
12. Mohapatra, C., *Utkal Itihasara Aka Angyata Adhyaya*, pp. 88ff.
13. He was made by Akbar governor of Junagarh in Gujrat, received the title of Kamil Khan under Jahangir, and accompanied prince Khurram (Shahjahan) to the Dakhin (Vide *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 346).
14. *Madla Panji*, p. 65.
15. *Tuzuk*, op.cit., p. 78 ; *Iqbalnama*, Bib. Ind., 1865, p. 19.
16. *Tuzuk*, op.cit., p. 78.
17. See my article 'Capital of Mughal Orissa', *Bharati*, Utkal University Journal, Humanities, Vol. II, Dec. 1968, No. 3, pp. 63ff.
18. *Tuzuk*, op.cit., pp. 126-27 ; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. VI (1921), 53.
19. Jahangir Quli Khan Lala Beg, was the governor of Bihar who died in the third year of Emperor Jahangir's reign (Vide *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 499). Perhaps after the death of Qutubuddin Khan, the governor of Bengal and Orissa, Jahangir Quli Khan remained incharge of Orissa and he died just before Hashim Khan joined as the governor.
20. *Baharistan*, Vol. I, p. 10.
21. The Chief of the beaters of Kettle-drum.
22. *Baharistan*, op.cit., p. 10.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Tuzuk*, op.cit., p. 98.
26. *Baharistan*, op.cit., pp. 35-36 ; *J.B.O.R.S.*, VII, p. 54.
27. *Madla Panji*, p. 65.
28. Maulana Shaikh Mubarak in his masnavi (as quoted in Baharistan-i-Ghaybi) on the seige ascribes to the Raja "More than 500 Iraths"—an incredible number. Each

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rath (he says) was made of wood, looked like a tall house, had 1,000 legs and was pushed forwa·d by 1,000 men (Vide *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 54, f.n. 2).

29 *Baharistan*, op.cit., p. 36 ; *J.B O R S.* VII, 54.
30. *Ibid*, p. 37 ; *Ibid*, p. 55.
31. *Baharistan*, op.cit.
32 *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid*, pp. 35ff ; *J B O.R S.*, VII, pp. 54ff.
35. *Madla Panji*, p. 65.
36. *Khurda Itihasa*, op cit., pp. 55ff.
37. *Utkala Itihasara Aka Angyata Adhyaya*, op.cit., p. 90.
38. *Sambalpur History*, Manuscript in Oriya, as quoted by Chakradhar Mohapatra in his *Utkala Itihasara Aka Angyata Adhyaya*, p 90.
39 Mansingh, Raja Sadhucharan, *Narasinghpur Geography and History*, Pub. 1904, p. 13.
40. *Tuzuk*, op.cit., p. 21.
41. *J.B.O.R.S.*, VII, pp 54ff ; *Tuzuk*, op.cit., p. 202 ; *Baharistan*, op.cit., p 143.
42. *Baharistan*, op.cit , pp. 144f.
43. *Tuzuk*, op.cit., p 402.
44 *Madla Panji*, pp. 65c.
45. This Sanskrit mansucript has been preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar and has been referred in the '*Khurda Itihasa*' of Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra.
46. *Tuzuk*, op.cit., p. 402.
47. *Khurda Itihasa*, op.cit., pp. 59f.
48. *Ain*, op.cit., p 586.
49. Banerji, R D., *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 30.
50. *Baharistan*, op.cit., p. 160.
51. *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 583
52 *Baharistan*, p. 219.
53. *Tuzuk*, op.cit., pp. 389.
54 *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Record Commission*, Vol. XXI, Dec. 1944, pp. 88ff.

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55. *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., Vol. VI, p. 355 ; *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 433.
56. *Madla Panji*, p. 66.
57. *Khurda Itihaso*, op.cit., pp. 61f.
58. *Ain*, Vol. I, op.cit., p. 552.
59. He was the third son of Ghiyas Beg, the father of Nurjahan. He was killed in Rajmahal during Shajahan's rebellion (Vide *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 575).
60. *Baharistan*, Vol. I, op.cit., pp. 631, 634.
61. He was the son of Nurjahan's brother Muhammad Sharif who was with Ibrahim Khan Fath-Jang in Bengal while he was appointed to the Subahdarship of Orissa (*Ain*, Vol. I, p. 576).
62. The mention of "We" means here both Jahangir and Nurjahan. Because by this time the administration of the Mughal Government was fully under the control of Nurjahan.
63. *Baharistan*, op.cit., p. 634.
64. *Ain*, Vol. I, op.cit., p. 552.
65. *Baharistan*, Vol. I, op.cit., p. 634.
66. *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 552.
67. *Tuzuk*, op.cit.
68. *Madla Panji*, p. 66.
69. *Khurda Itihasa*, op.cit., p. 62.
70. *Utkala Itihasara Eka Angyata Adhyaya*, op.cit., p. 91.
71. *Utkala Itihasa*, op.cit,, pp. 242f ; *Utkala Itihasara Eka Angyata Adhyaya*, op.cit., pp. 95f.
72. *Madla Panji*, pp. 66f.
73. *I.H-Q.*, X (1934), 671.
74. *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 248.
75. *Iqbalnama*, Bib. Ind., p. 201 ; *Tuzuk*, op.cit., p. 251.
76. *Baharistan*, op.cit., p. 687.
77. *Riyaz*, p. 190 ; Beniprasad, *Hist. of Jahangir*, p.345 ; Stewart, *Hist. of Bengal*, p. 142.
78. *Baharistan*, op.cit., p. 688, f.n. 1 ; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, (1934), 681, f n. 16.

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79. *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 298 ; *Iqbalnama*, Bid. Ind., p. 217 ; *English Factories in India*, 1922-3, p. 315 ; *Gladwin*, p. 69.

80. *English Factories in India*, 1622-3, p. 315 ; *Tuzuk*, op.cit., p. 298 ; *Iqbalnama*, Bid. Ind., p. 218 ; *Gladwin*, p. 69 ; *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., Vol. VI, pp. 390f. It is probable that this is the place mentioned in the *Maasirul-i-Umara*, I, 332, 410, in the biography Baqir Khan, Najm Sani, and also in the *Padishahanama*, I, 333. It is called there "the pass of Chhatar Diwar", and is described as the boundary between Orissa and Tellingana, and is two koss from Khairapara (probably Khandapar). One Mansur, a servant of Qutbul-Mulk, had built a fort there, and called it Manurgarh.

It should be noted here that the place, named Chhatar Diwar in the Mahommedan History, may be identified with the modern Chatragada, situated just at the boundary between the districts of Puri and Ganjam. (Vide *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. VI, 1957, p. 48, foot note).

The ruins of this fort yet can be seen near Gopalpur in the modern district of Ganjam, which was then in the territory of Golconda. The people of the locality call this fort as 'Manusurkota'.

81. *Iqbalnama*, E. & D., VI, p. 408 ; *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., VI, p. 390.

82. *Paharistan*, p. 688.

83. *Khurda Itihasa*, op.cit., p. 63.

84. *Madla Panji*, p. 67.

85. *I.H.Q.*, X, pp. 676ff.

86. *A. N.* (Vol. III, 969) locates the fort of Manpur between Orissa in Telingana.

87. It has been stated in *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir*, E. & D., VI, 408) that Pipli was the Capital of Mughal Orissa, when Ahmad Beg Khan was the Subahdar. But this is not correct. From other contemporary records, it has been proved that Pipli was only an outpost of the Mughal Government. Otherwise, from the time of Akbar till to

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the end of the Mughal rule in Orissa, Cuttack was the Capital (See my article '*Capital of Mughal Orissa*') published in *Bharati* Utkal University Journal, Humanities, Vol. II, Dec., 1968, No. 3, pp. 63-68).

88. The Statement of Gladwin (p. 69), repeated by Beni Prasad (History of Jahangir, p 346) that Ahmad Beg Khan fled to Dacca does not appear to be accurate. There is no suggestion to that effect either in the Tuzuk or in the Iqbalnamah, while the Baharistan p. 689) states definitely that Ahmad Beg halted at Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) where he was soon joined by his uncle Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Bengal (Vide *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, 1934, p. 682, f.n. 18).

89. Raja Pancha is probably the Raja of Panchera, a territory situated to the West of Baitarini, about 24 miles west of Bhadrak in Orissa Nilgiri is about 11 miles south-west of Balasore (Vide *Bahariston*, p. 688, f n. 4 ; *I.H.Q* , Vol X, p. 682, f.n. 20).

90. *Aml-i-Salih* (I, 179), mentions that Shah Jahan occupied Cuttack in the early part of December, 1623 (Vide *Baharistan*, op.cit., p. 688, f.n. 5 .

91. *Baharistan*, op.cit., p. 688.

92. It seems Mirza Nathan has made some confusion regarding the name of Portuguese officer who visited Shah Jahan at Cuttack. According to Portuguese historians (Manrique : *Catholic Herald of India*, 1918, 354 ; *Travels of Manrique*, II, 323 and *History of Portuguese in Bengal*, 128) and other modern historians (S. N. Bhattacharya, *I.H.Q.*, X, 683 ; Sri Ram Sarma, *I.H.Q.*, XI, p. 93, f.n. 4), the Portuguese governor of Hugli and Pipli was Miquel Rodriques and not Captain Chanika as mentioned by Mirza Nathan. Captain Chanika may be an envoy of the Portuguese Governor. The European historians (Stewart and Campos) suggest that this meeting took place at Bardwan, while Manrique places it at Dacca. But from the accounts of Nathan it is evident that this interview took place at Cuttack and

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not in other places mentioned by them (Vide *Baharistan*, p. 688, f.n. 6).

93. *Baharistan*, op.cit , p. 688f.
94. Manrique, *Catholic Herald of India*, 1918, p. 354 ; *History of Portuguese in Bengal*, p. 128 ; *Travels of Manrique* Vol. II, p. 323.
95. *Baharistan*, op.cit., p. 689.
96. *I.H.Q.*, X, 683.
97. *Madla Panji*, p. 67.
98. *I.H.Q.*, X, pp. 712ff.
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100. Banerji, R. D., *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 36.
101. *Rasika Mangala*, Published in Bengali, p. 120.
102. *B.O.H.R.J.*, II, p. 155.
103. *O.H.R.J.*, VI, No. I. 48.
104. *O.H.R.J* , Vol. II, p. 298,
105. See footnote 74 of this chapter.
106. *Tuzuk*, Vol. op.cit., p. 433.

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Chapter Five

MUGHAL RULE UNDER SHAH JAHAN
(A.D. 1628-1658)

On Monday 4 February 1628, at the exact time indicated by Court astrologers, the coronation of the new Emperor Shah Jahan took place. The Khutba was read in his name, and he assumed the lofty style of Abul Muzaffar Shihabuddin Muhammad Sahib Qirani Sani. Fast couriers were despatched to distant provinces to proclaim his accession. Loyal officers were confirmed in their posts, while the suspect and disobedient were removed. In the first category were Asaf Khan, Itiqad Khan, Khan Jahan, and Baqir Khan Najm Sani.[1] Baqir Khan's term as Subahdar of Orissa was renewed by an order dated the 4 February 1628.[2]

Baqir Khan, just after his term of office was renewed, invaded the Sun temple of Konark. This has been mentioned in Madla Panji discovered by Late Manmohan Chakravarti. There is a reference that the image of god Surya was removed from the Konark temple and kept in the 'Niladri-Mahoshaba' temple inside the compound of the temple of Jagannath at Puri. Narasingha Dev, the then king of Khurda had gone from Puri to Konark to see the empty Sun Temple on his 9th Anka year or the 20th day of Mina Chaitra Krushna Saptami Monday[3]. This date falls on 17 March 1628, according to astronomical calculations.[4] That the image of Sun god had been brought to Puri during the reign of Narasingha Dev also has been written in the Madla Panji published by the Prachi Samiti.[5] But the invasion of the Sum Temple has not been mentioned in any Muslim writing of that time. Therefore, without corroborative evidence, there is much doubt in the description of Madla Panji.

After the acquisition of Khurda by Mukarram Khan, Mughal aggression in Orissa came to a pause for some time. The Qutb-Sahi conquest of southern Orissa was very slow. Though the

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Gajapati Raja was ousted in 1571, Chikakol did not become a seat of a Faujdar till about 1641, when the first holder of that office built a Masjid at that place in 1641.[6] It was only after the final submission of Colkonda in 1636 that the Mughals received any revenue from the Sarkar of Rajmahendri. Early in Aurangazeb's reign Malud became the southernmost outpost of Mughal Orissa. At this time according to the Muraqat-i-Hassan, the Golkonda tributary appertaining to the province of Orissa was sent from the Qutb-Sahi district of Chikakol to the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa. It amounted to about Rs. 20,000.[7]

The first recorded invasion of the Qutb-Sahi territory through Orissa was undertaken by Baqir Khan in the winter of 1620-30. He marched to Chhatraduar, a very narrow pass on the frontier between the Mughal province of Orissa and the Qutb-Sahi district of Chikakol, about twenty-four miles north of Rajmahendri. He plundered and laid waste the territory of the Qutb-Sahi kingdom of Golkonda. But the approach of the rainy season compelled him to retire without doing anything more. In the autumn of 1630, he advanced once more towards the south, with friendly local levies from the Zamindars of Khalikot, Kodla Athagarh and Al.[8] On the 3rd December, he arrived near the environs of Mansurgarh, a fort about eight miles from Khiraparah.[9] This fort Mansurgarh had been built by a Golkonda officer named Mansur. The Colkonda troops offered battle in the plain outside the fort but were defeated. The commander of the fort of Mansurgarh, surrendered to the Mughals. Baqir Khan, being victorious returned, after leaving garrisons at Khiraparah and Mansurgarh. The Qutb-Shahis re-assembled their forces to expel the Mughal troops and to recover the fort. But Baqir Khan made a forced march and defeated the Qutb-Sahi army. The news of this second victory reached the Emperor Shah Jahan on the 23 April 1631.[10] But when Abdullah, the Sultan of Golkonda brought this to the notice of Shah Jahan, he ordered Baqir Khan to retire from the frontier due to the amicable relations between the two monarches.[11]

As an administrator, Badir Khan was cruel and oppressive.

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Complaints against him repeatedly reached Shah Jahan's Court. It was alleged that Baqir Khan called all the Zamindars of Orissa together and threw them into prison in order to extort revenue. By his orders seven hundred of the captives were massacred. Only one of them escaped and laid his case before Shah Jahan. This fugitive produced a rent roll showing that Baqir Khan had collected forty lakhs of rupees from Orissa. In consequence, Baqir Khan was recalled and asked to account for the money. On 24 June 1632 an order was issued by Shah Jahan removing him from the Subahdarship of Orissa[12].

R. D. Banerji holds this view that 'Purushottama of Khurda died either in 1628 or 1630 during the tenure of office of Baqir Khan. According to the manuscript used by Hunter (Orissa, Vol. II, App. VII, p. 191) he was killed in battle. He was succeeded by his son Narasingha Dev who ruled till 1653 or 1655'[13]. But it has been proved by some scholars that Raja Purushottama had died much earlier in 1622 while Ahmad Beg Khan was the Subahdar of Orissa. He was succeeded by his son Narasingha Dev who ruled uptill 1647.[14]

In spite of the cruelity and oppression, Baqir Khan during his Subahdarship never had invaded either Khurda or the temple of Jagannath at Puri. His successor was Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki, who took charge of the province in 1632.

In 1633, the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa granted permission to the English merchants to carry on their trade in the province. This was the first advent of Englishmen in Orissa. In March 1633, William Bruton (an English merchant of the East India Company), along with Captain Ralph Cartwright and eight others arrived at the mouth of the Mahanadi river in an Indian ship. They cast anchor at the Mughal customs house at Harispur. From there they came to Cuttack and paid a visit to the Mughal subahdar inside the fort of Barabati. On the 5 May 1633, the Subahdar granted a Farman (official order) permitting the English to trade, free of duty, establish factories and build or repair ships in Orissa. Cartwright, almost immediately established a factory at Hariharpur in Cuttack district, where there was a large colony of weavers. Next month, he established another factory at

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Balasore. Balasore gradually developed into a great trade centre and a harbour for the sea going ships of all the European nations on account of its favourable position as a half-way halting station between Madras and Bengal William Bruton recorded a vivid account of his visit to Cuttack and Puri in 1633. His account was first published by J. Okes in 1638 and subsequently by others at different times.[15]

There has been a controversy and a good deal of confusion as to the identity of the stately palace of Malcandy at Cuttack described by William Bruton There is also some doubt about the name of the governor who granted farman to the English to trade in Orissa. In this connection R. D. Banerji writes, 'Bruton mentions one Agha Muhammad Zaman Tihrani as the Governor in May 1633 who issued a farman authorising the English to trade in Orissa. Mutaqad Khan was sent back in 1634'[16].

C. R. Wilson had identified Malcandy with Mukunda Deo relying perhaps on the account of the fort, described by Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari (Vol. II, p. 127)[17]. Not being satisfied with it, G. S. Das resorted to a new method and, on palaeographic grounds suggested that Malcandy stands for Mahanadi. In his article "History of the Lal Bagh Palace"[18], Prof. Das tried to identify Lal Bagh Palace with the old Raj Bhavan (at present "Sishu Bhavan") at Cuttack and the present stately palace of Malcandy described by William Bruton with the Barabati palace. After a critical and analytical examination of the contemporary sources, he rejected the opinion held by a number of scholars that Lal Bagh palace was the Mahanadi palace. He tried to prove that Malcandy palace cannot be identified with Lal Bagh palace. He equated it with Barabati palace or fort which was named by Bruton as Mahanadi palace on account of its being situated on the bank of the river Mahanadi. According to him, the construction of Lal Bagh palace was undertaken in 1633 by Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki, who was the Mughal governor of Orissa during 1632-41.[19]

Mughal rule in Orissa began during the reign of Jahangir after he appointed the first Subahdar in A.D. 1607. Thus, by the

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time of Bruton's visit in 1633 hardly twenty-five years had elapsed during which period the Mughal Subahdars were busy in consolidating their position and had little time left to build a new palace as the seat of the Court. It was natural for them to hold the court in the Barabati palace and to utilise it as a garrison.

But with the passage of years the need for a new palace was felt, and Bruton by his reference to the "abomination of the Nabob" has brought out the urgency of the need. Bruton has nowhere mentioned the name of the reigning Nawab (Governor) of Orissa excepting a reference to the predecessor of Nawab such as, "one Backarcauna (Baqir Khan)" who "founded" two stately tombs. Wilson, however, notes that the ruling subahdar was one, Agha Muhammad Zaman Tihrani.[20] R. D. Banerji accepted Wilson's view and suggested that though Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki took over the charge of the province from Baqir Khan in 1632, yet he was probably recalled for a year during which (i.e., in 1633) Agha Muhammad Tihrani was the Subahdar of Orissa. But since there is hardly any other corroboration from other sources, R. D. Banerji writes that "Mutaqad Khan was sent back in A.D. 1634".[21] From 'Badshanamah' as well as from J. N. Sarkar's list in "Studies in Mughal India", it is clear that Baqir Khan was succeeded in A.D. 1632 by Mutaqad Khan who continued as the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa till A.D. 1641. R. D. Banerji thus seems to be incorrect in his opinion. If at all there was a subahdar named Agha Muhammad Zaman Tihrani in Orissa in 1633, he was identical with Mutaqad Khan alias M rza Maki, in other words the name as recorded by Wilson was only another name of Mutaqad Khan, alias Mirza Maki, and he was subahdar who granted the farman to the English traders in May 1633[22].

If Bruton is to be believed then the Subahdar of Orissa, evidently Mutaqad Khan, alias Mirza Maki who had a long tenure of Office (1632-41) and enjoyed the patronage of Shah Jahan was 'building a palace, which he proposed should be a fabric of rest and future remembrance of his renown". Bruton earlier observes that "it is an abomination to the Moghuls to

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rest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man hath built for his own honour" and the "house which another hath built" refers to the Malcandy (Barabati) and not the Lalbagh.

Thus it was Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki, the Moghul Governor of Orissa in A.D. 1633, who undertook the construction of this palace. This new palace became famous latter as the Lalbagh palace, probably because it was coloured red and acquired official status, recognition and honour with the succession of years and regimes[23].

The subsequent history of Orissa during the reign of Shah Jahan is a mere string of names. Mutaqad Khan governed Orissa till 1641 and the order removing him was issued from the Imperial Court on 9 March 1640, but he did not reach the Court before 29 July 1641. It is recorded that he died in extreme old age on 17 October 1651.[24] His successor was Shah Naqas Khan Safawi, who ruled for a short time. He was removed by an order dated the 8 March 1642, but remained in charge of the province till the end of that year. It appears that from 1642 till the death of flight of Shuja from Bengal, Orissa remained an appanage of Prince Shuja's joint Viceroyalty of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Muhammad Shah Shuja Bahadur was the second son of Shah Jahan. He first obtained his first Viceroyalty of Bengal in A.D. 1642. Towards the close of that year, Prince Shuja was given, in addition, the subah of Orissa.[25] After five years successful administration he was recalled to the Court. He remained at Delhi for about one and half years. At last in A.D. 1648, he was again appointed Viceroy of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar which he ruled uninterruptedly for seventeen years.[26] Two letters of Prince Shuja written to Shah Jahan during this period throws interesting light in regards to Orissa. The first letter says :

'The farman of my appointment to the subah of Orissa has reached very punctually Thanks to your Majesty, the Qibla of the two worlds, for having exhalted this servant by an increase of 1,000 sawar. Probably the news of transfer has reached Shah Nawaz Khan. It is desirable that after transfar he should not stay there any longer because his high handedness may cause

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disorder in the province and injury to the peasantry. As this humble servant does not like that His Majesty's territory should suffer in any way, I may be permitted to take over the charge of that province before the beginning of the Rabi (winter) harvest. I hope that governmental order should be issued to Shah Nawaz Khan to the effect that he shall handover the subah (Orissa) to my officials before the winter harvest so that I may promptly assume the custody and possession of it.

As I have been instructed to recall Muhammad Zaman Tehrani from Dacca and put him in charge of this subah (Orissa), I have put in his place Mir Abul Qasim as the Commandant of Jahangirnagar, and despatched a fresh contingent of 500 horse to strengthen his hands in that quarter...'[27].

The following passage of Abdul Hamid Lahori corroborates the facts mentioned in the above letter. 'On the 15th Zilhijjah, 1051 H··· the Subah of Orissa was given to prince Shuja and he was ordered to send Muhammad Zaman Tehrani to take charge of that Subah. Shah Nawaz Khan, the dismissed Nazim of that Subah was commanded to leave that subah before the arrival of Muhammad Zaman and take charge of the sarkar of Jaunpur which was granted to him'.[28]

From the facts mentioned above, it can be said that Shah Nawaz Khan was oppressor of the peasantry and due to his misrule there was disorder in Orissa. That Shah Nawaz Khan was an oppressor, is also known from the second letter of Prince Shuja written to Shah Jahan. The relevant portion of the letter is quoted below :

'···As Promotion of cultivation and the happiness of all people are known to be the particular object of your Majesty's attention, I have during this time made such efforts to improve the cultivation and the reclamation of the country that both the subahs are showing everyday signs of such labour. The condition of the subahs of Orissa was bad owing to the oppression of the previous Governor. As I have tried my utmost to improve the administration of these subahs...'[29].

Thus Shah Nawaz Khan was responsible for the misgovernment in Orissa. Therefore, he was dismissed and removed

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from Orissa by Shahjahan. In rank and position, he was degraded and as a punishment he was appointed in a low position. In order to save Orissa from the misrule of Shah Nawaz Khan, Shahjahan had given special instruction to Prince Shuja to recall Muhammad Zaman Tehrani from Dacca to take the charge of Orissa.

Shah Nawaz Khan was thus succeeded by Muhammad Zaman Tehrani who govern Orissa from A.D. 1642 to 1645. His order of appointment is dated 8 March 1642, and that of removal, 21 November. 1645. Mutaqad Khan, was again appointed on 21 November 1645 to be recalled to court in the twentysccond year (July 1648 to June 1649) of the reign of Shan Jahan[30].

Thus after Muhammad Zaman, Mutaqad Khan became the Subahdar of Orissa for the second time. It is known from a letter of Khan-i Duran written to the Delhi Court in 1661 that Mutaqad Khan had killed Narasingha Deva, the then ruling King of Khurda. According to this account : 'When the late Mutaqad Khan was Subahdar he slew Narasingha Deva and made his nephew Gangadhar Rajah. Balabhadra Deva, the elder brother of the slain, became Rajah after kill ng Gangadhar with the help of the officers of the state. When he died, Mukunda Deva succeeded at the age of four years only.[31] Before the departure of Mutaqad Khan from Orissa, Gangadhar had ruled for few months. So in A.D. 1647 Narasingha Deva had been slain. This account has been supported by the Madla Panji. According to Madla Panji :

'On the night of Mithuna 7 of 32 Anka of this Maharaja, (Narasingha Deva) Fateh Khan, the Amra (Ameer or officer) of Matmati Khan (Mutaqad Khan) came to the Dakhin Parush palace along with Anirudha Ray, the grand-father of the king and cut the head of the Rajah Thakur. Took all the materials of the palace. Looted the Bhandar (Store) of Parmeswar'.[32]

The 32 Anka Mithuna seven of the king had fallen on A.D. 5 June (Saturday) 1647. Rajput poet Dinakrushna Das in his book "Rasabinoda", has also mentioned about the murder of Narasingha Deva by Fateh Khan Pathan. For this murder

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king's old grand-father was more responsible than Fateh Khan. Subahdar Mutaqad Khan was very peaceful in nature. In his first term of Subahdarship he had not done any kind of harm to any body in Orissa. Therefore, he may not be held responsible fully for this incident. From subsequent events it is known that the conspiracy in the Royal family to capture the Khurda throne, was at its root. Fateh Khan, after killing the king with the help of the domestic enemies, had looted the wealth and property of the Royal palace and the store of Lord Jagannath.[83]

Thus after the murder of Narasingha Deva in A.D. 1647, severe struggle had begun to capture the throne of Khurda. From Madla Panji it is known that Gangadhar Deva, the son of Narasingha Deva's brother Gokula Ray had ruled in Khurda kingdom for some months. The description of Madla Panji is being supported by the accounts of Mughal History.[84] But in the Madla Panji there is no mention about the relationship of Gangadhar and Balabhadra. Only this much has been mentioned in the Madla Panji that Balabhadra Deva after becoming the king, killed Gangadhar Deva. But according to the Mughal source Balabhadra Deva was the elder brother of the slain Narasingha Deva.[85] He with the help of the officers of the state, killed Gangadhar Deva and captured the throne himself. This version of the incident is acceptable as it seems to be more logical Due to these incidents from 1647 to 1649, there was no peace and stability in the Khurda kingdom.[86]

The dates of succession and murder of Narasingha Deva as given by R. D. Banerji are not correct.[87] Actually Narasingha Deva was killed by Fateh Khan in 1647. Then Balabhadra Deva succeeded to the throne in about 1648 after killing Gangadhar. He died in about 1657 and was succeeded by his son Mukunda Deva[88].

Uptill the year 1642 Orissa was regarded as a separate province of the Mughal Empire. But this year Shah Shuja, the second son of Shah Jahan, was appointed as Viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The governors of Orissa were hereafter appointed from Bengal instead of from Delhi. Because the headquarters of Prince Shah Shuja was in Dacca.

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After Mutaqad Khan was recalled in July 1648 Jan Beg Haravi was appointed in his place as the governor of Orissa by Shah Shuja. He was succeeded by Muhammad Hayat on 19 November 1651. Then followed Mir Samsam-ud-daulah Anju,[39] the next agent of Prince Shuja, appointed on 3 October 1654. It is learnt from the Muraqat-i-Hassan that he died in March 1655, on the way at Jajpur before reaching Cuttack to assume his office. The next agent of Shah Shuja was Rashid Khan who was probably appointed on 14 April 1658. About Rashid Khan (Son of Iftikhar Khan and grandson of Asalat Khan) we only learn of the appointment. But there is no reference at all to him in the Muraqat, nor his actual joining and removal in Waris. Therefore, this was evidently a paper appointment which was soon afterwards cancelled. The next deputy of Prince Shuja in Orissa was Tarbiyat Khan alias Shafiullah Birlas (1655-57). As for Tarbiyat Khan we learn from the Maasir-ul-Umara that in Shah Jahan's twentyninth year (29 March 1655 to 16 March 1656), he was appointed deputy Subahdar of Orissa as agent of Prince Shuja[40] He was serving in these eastern provinces when Mir Jumla was appointed imperial wazir in July 1656. But on 20 December 1657, Tarbiyat Khan was appointed subahdar of Oudh, being then present at the imperial court at Agra. So his Orissa tenure had been ended before that date. He was followed by Khwajah Bakhardad Ashraf Khan.[41] From among these governors no one had invaded neither the Khurda kingdom nor the Jagannath temple of Puri. Perhaps the short tenure as office of each of them may be the reason.

Shah Jahan fell ill in September 1657 and the famous war of succession among his four sons followed. Aurangzeb coptured the throne and assumed the title of emperor. His coronotion took place on 31 July 1658. Shah Jahan's reign thus came to an end. The ex-emperor passed the remaining days of his life as a prisoner in the fort of Agra and died on 31 January 1666 at the age of 74.

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6. Sarkar, J. N., *History of Aurangazeb*, Vol. I, p. 215.
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34. *Studies in Mughal India*, op.cit.
35. *Ibid.*
36 *Khurda Itihasa*, op.cit, pp. 93f.
37. *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 41f.
38. *Khurda Itihasa*, op.cit., p. 97.
39. A son of Mir Husainuddin and a grandson of Mir Jamaluddin Hussain Inju, Samsamuddaulah was appointed Diwan of Prince Shuja in the 21st year of the reign of Shah Jahan and subahdar of Orissa in the 28th year, with the command of 1500, five hundred horse. He died in the same year (Vide *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 451).
40, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 494.
41. *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, Pub. by Dacca Univerty, pp. 231f.

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Chapter Six

ORISSA UNDER THE RULE OF AURANGZEB
(A.D. 1658-1707)

In A.D. 1658, Aurangzeb captured the throne of Delhi. But for two years thereafter prince Shuja was desperately struggling for the same, till finally he was forced to flee in 1660. As a result of Shuja-Aurangzeb struggle from September 1657 to May 1660, Orissa passed through a period of complete lawlessness, chaos and anarchy. In order to bring the war of succession to a successful termination in his favour, Prince Shuja had withdrawn the troops and most of the officers from Orissa. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, all the oppressed Zamindars of Orissa rose in revolt against the Mughal Government. The Zamindars withheld the revenue, several of them built forts and looted their neighbourhood.[1]

After Shuja's flight to Arakan, emperor Aurangzeb appointed Mir Jumla as governor of Bengal. The latter's efficiency and skill as a general and his whole-hearted devotion to the cause of the emperor encourage Aurangzeb to raise him to that position. Besides the chaotic political situation and administrative bankruptcy of the province required a strong hand to restore peace and order in the eastern provinces like Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This is evident in the letter of the emperor addressed to Mir Jumla wherein he wrote, 'On the whole the laxity in administration, slackness, disobedience and rebellion which have became rampart there for several years, are not unknown to you... In every district the din of rebellion is rife and ringleaders have raised their heads in tumult...'[2] Doubtless, Shuja's misrule gave rise to not only administrative problems but also political complications. He awfully neglected and administration of the provinces and particularly of Orissa. Shah Jahan was particular in establishing some sort of direct contact with the people of Bengal. But this was not done in

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the case of Orissa as he advised prince Shuja thus : "As you prefer to live at Rajmahal, you ought to make an official tour of your province by proceeding from Rajmahal to Burdwan and thence to Medinipur. This last-named city is on the frontier of Orissa ; you ought to call up there such of your officers from Orissa as you like and receive their accounts and reports about the country"[3] From this it is evident that proper attention was not paid by prince Shuja to the administration of Orissa, which was always ruled by his agents. He was busy amassing treasure for himself to fight his rival brothers for the throne. The inevitable result was a general slackness in the administration and tyranny of the officials over the subjects. Therefore, the people of Orissa were in revolt against the Mughals.

However, by the autumn of the year 1659, Mir Jumla established his authority in western Bengal. Shortly thereafter he detached Ihtishan Khan to assume the charge of Orissa.[4] Ihtishan Khan says in his Muraqat-i-Hassan that he will reach Medinipur on the 25 November 1658. At this time prince Shuja was in complete possession of the country between Benares and Dacca. Therefore, no officer of Aurangzeb could have reached Medinipur. Moreover, Ihtishan was detached after the defeat of Shuja in January 1659. Therefore, it is more probable that he reached Medinipur in the year two instead of one of the reign of Aurangzeb, i.e., on the 14 November 1659. Accordingly, his stay in Orissa was too short to enable him to restore order[5].

Ihtishan Khan's first act as Subahdar of Orissa was to issue a proclamation that the 'Khutba' be read in all the mosques of Orissa, in the name of the new emperor. Next, he sent an order to all the mansabdars, zamindars, choudhuries, Kanungoes of the province announcing his own appointment as the Subahdar of the Government of Orissa. He ordered the officers and zamindars to meet him at Narayangadha, where he will march from Medinipur[6].

Ihtishan Khan was replaced within less than a year by Khan-i-Duran, who came from Allahabad in September, 1660. The former was sent to Bengal to serve under Mir Jumla. He tried to take with him as prisoners, for default of revenue, the

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brothers of Raja Nilakantha Deva ; Gopinath, the brother of Bharat Pattnaik and the chief officer of Raja Mukunda Deva of Khurda. As their zamindaries could not be administered nor could any rent collected in the absence of these men, the Mughal faujdar of Katak secured the release of Gopinath Pattnaik by signing a bond of Rs. 14,000 to Ihtishan Khan The other captives were also similarly released For this the faujdar was severely censured by Khan-i-Duran. He insisted that they should be unconditionally, delivered up to him since he was the new governor in office.[7]

Acting upon imperial instructions, Mir Jumla resumed to the state many rent-free lands in Orissa. Even after the appointment of Khan-i-Duran as governor, Mir Jumla continued to enjoy some hold over that province. Doubtless, by personal exertion, he succeeded in restoring order as is evident from the records of the English factors in Orissa. On the death of Mir Jumla, the Balasore factor observe in his letter of 28 April 1663 that 'The Governors in these parts, on account of the long absence and distance of the Nawab (Mir Jumla) had been so insolent and illimitable in their exactions that they had very much impaired the trade here...this great subject, Khafi-i-Khan (Mir Jumla) being extinct, this country will be under Aurangzeb'[8]. Although Orissa was a separate province under a separate governor, Mir Jumla exercised manifold control over that province. He helped Khan-i-Duran in suppressing Bahadur Khan, the rebel zamindar of Hijli. He even induced Aurangzeb to transfer Hijli to the Jurisdiction of Bengal viceroy. He managed to secure some warboats from the English and the Dutch and ultimately Hijli was occupied and Bahadur Khan with his family members were taken prisoners and brought to Dacca.

Some further information is furnished by letters from the Dutch factors in Bengal[9], which also throw some interesting light upon the local history of Orissa. The first of them, dated November 1660, mentions that 'Bador Chan' (Bahadur Khan) the rightful heir of the island of Hijli—by which term appears to be meant the district along the coast from the Rupnarayan to the Subarnarekha—had escaped from prison into which Shah

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Shuja had thrown him, and had made himself master of that territory. This had moved Mir Jumla, now dignified with the title of Khan-Khanan, to press the Dutch, Portuguese, and English to lend vessels to assist in the reconquest of the district. But the enterprise had been stayed by the coming of Khan-i-Duran, to be governor of Orissa.[10] A second letter written on 28 December 1660, says that Mir Jumla having induced the Emperor to allot the Hijli district to Bengal, was making preparations to subdue Bahadur Khan, and had requisitioned an English sloop and a Dutch galliot He was also pressing the Dutch to despatch a vessel to Arakan in pursuit of Shah Shuja.[11] From these accounts it is evident that Mir Jumla continued to enjoy some hold over Orissa, even after the appointment of Khan-i-Duran as governor.

The detailed accounts of Khan-i Duran's subahdarship has been described in the Muraqat-i-Hassan or Letters of Maulana Abul Hassan, who served the Subahdars of Orissa as Secretary for about twelve years (A.D. 1656-1667) and put this collection together in A.H 1080 (A.D. 1669-1670). The important portions of it has been compiled and published by Jadunath Sarkar.[12]

The first part of Khan-i-Duran's viceroyalty was devoted to a task that was practically equivalent to the reconquest of Orissa for the Mughal government as Imperial authority had disappeared from the province during the war of succession. The state of anarchy is very graphically described in the letters of this subahdar as mentioned in the Muraqat-i-Hassan: 'All the Zamindars on the further side of the Katjhuri, in the jurisdiction of Sayid Sher Khan, have refused tribute and declared war against him'. Krishna Bhanj of Hariharpur[13], the leading Zamindar of this province, during the interregnum spread his power over the country from Medinipur to Bhadrak, a distance of fifty or sixty kos, seizing the property of the inhabitants and way farers and severely oppressing the people'. The fort of Machhara or Bachhara (?) was wrested from Shuja's men by Lakshmi Narayan Bhanj, the Raja of Keonjhar, during the time of disorder'. 'For the last three years, the Zamindars on the further side of Katak have been collecting vast forces and

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getting ready for war'. 'Bahadur, the Zamindar of Hijli is in rebellion'. 'Chhut Rai has dispersed the ryots of Medinipur, and is building a fort in the jungles with evil intentions'.[14] It is unnecessary to give a list of the names of the other rebel zamindars here, as they will be mentioned in detail in the history of Khan-i-Duran's campaigns in subsequent pages.

From the account of the Muraqat it is evident that even in 1656 the Bhanja chiefs were regarded as the foremost people in Orissa. Though Khan-i-Duran crushed Raja Mukunda Deva of Khurda, the opposition from the Hindu chiefs was headed by the Bhanjas and the two branches, of Hariharpur of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar, had to be attacked and defeated separately. The anarchy had reduced Orissa to great a straits and the country had to be reconquered when Aurangzeb's reign began.[15]

The farman appointing Khan-i-Duran to Orissa was sent from the Imperial Court on 3 April 1660 (Alamgirnamah, p. 474). He received it at Allahabad, where he was subahdar and soon set out for new province, 'in the very height of the monsoons, defying raging storms, excessive mud, flooded rivers, which had closed the paths' (Muraqat, 85). On 26 September 1660, he entered Medinipur, the first town after crossing the Orissa frontier. After spending some days here to settle the district, organise the civil administration and revenue collection and station faujdars in all directions, he set out for Jaleswar. In the meantime he wrote to the zamindars of northern Orissa to meet him on the way and pay respects as loyal subjects. His intention was to 'finish the Hijli business first'. Bahadur, the zamindar of the port, had rebelled. He had to be subdued before the Mughal routes from Medinipur via Narayangarh and Jaleswar to Balasore could be rendered safe. But 'the other zamindars report that the country of Hijli is now covered with mud and water, and, not to speak of cavalry, even foot soldiers can not traverse it. After a time, when the roads of the district became dry again, the campaign should be opened'. So Khan-i-Duran put off the idea, and went direct to Jaleswar, which he reached in the latter half of October A.D. 1660.[16]

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At the news of his approach both Bahadur Khan and Krishna Bhanja, wrote to him professing submission and promising to wait on him at Jaleswar. The Mughal Faujdar of Remuna, on the Mayurbhanj frontier, wrote to the new governor that the agents of those two zamindars had met him with the purpose of arranging interviews for their masters. He was ordered in reply to reassure them with kindness and send them back to their masters that they might come without fear or suspicion and see the subahdar at Jaleswar. Bahadur Khan evidently changed his mind and did not turn up. But Krishna Bhanja came and met with a terrible fate. His offences are thus summed up : 'He kept one thousand horses and ten or twelve thousand foot soldiers, and was obeyed and helped by all the zamindars of this country. During the anarchy he had plundered the tract from Bhadrak to Medinipur. Carried off the ryots to his own territory, increased their cultivation and ruined the Imperial dominions. The fate of Krishna Bhanja is best described in the Subahdar's own words :

"When I reached Jaleswar, which is near his zamindari, Krishna Bhanja saw me after wasting a month on the pretext of choosing a lucky day (for the visit), and offered false excuses (for his late disloyal conduct). During the inquiry and discussion for settling the amount of the revenue to be paid by him, he, inspired by pride in the largeness of his force, drew his dagger and rushed towards me. His companions, too, unsheathed their swords and made repeated charges. The grace of the emperor saved my life. We slew Krishna Bhanja and many of his men. The rest fled. Some chiefs, such as Udanda, the zamindars of Ghatsila, and Harichandan, the zamindar of Nilgiri threw away their weapon and delivered themselves up as prisoners".

"The relations of the slain Rajah (of Mayurbhanj) raised disturbances, molesting the ryots So, I started for Hariharpur to punish them and halted at Remuna on the frontier of his dominion. His brother, Jay Bhanja, submitted, begged pardon, and brought to me his mother and son and

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three elephants and some money as a present, and begged the 'tika' of the Rajaship and zamindari for the son. I agreed, and then started to punish the rebels near Katak".[17]

Some further information is furnished by letters from the Dutch Factors in Bengal (summarised in Batavia Dagh Register, 1661) which also throw some interesting light upon the affairs of Krishna Bhanja. A letter written on 28 December, 1660, reports serious disturbances in Orissa and says: 'The Great Raja Kristna Bens (Krishna Bhanja) with two or three other important chiefs and several thousands of attendants, came to wait upon the Governor, Khan Duran, in order to do homage to him as the Emperor's representative, whereupon they were suddenly attacked with the connivance, it was thought of the Governor and a frightful slaughter ensued The result was a rebellion'[18]. Thus the accounts af Muraqat-i-Hassan have been corroborated in the above mentioned letter.

The next chief attacked was the Gajapati of Khurda. It appears from the Muraqat that by virtue of his being the nominal head of the Hindu chiefs of Orissa, the Khurda chief suffered more from the Mughals than any other power. He was still the fountain-head of honour in the county. All other zamindars regarded him as nearly divine, disobedience to whom was a sin. Nearly half a century after the departure of Raja Man Singh from the country the Rajas of Khurda, instead of being regarded as independent chiefs in alliance with the Mughal emperor, had decended very low in the scale and become feudatories or zamindars. Raja Mukunda Deva, the son and successor of Balavadra Deva, had succeeded to the throne. The Muraqat describes him as an adult who took a leading part in the war with the Khan-i-Duran. He was accused of remaining absent from the Mughal army sent to punish the refractory Zamindars and having caused lawlessness personally. R. D. Banerji has wrongly mentioned Mukunda Deva as the son and successor of Gangadhara.[19] Mukunda Deva was actually the son and successor of Balavadra Deva and came to the throne in 1657.[20]

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The Khurda Raj Affairs have been described in the following words :

'When the Khan reached Katak, Rajah Mukunda Deva of Khurda "the leading Zamindar of the country, whose orders are obeyed by the other zamindars, whom all other Zamindars of this country worship like a god and disobedience of whose orders they regard as great sin"—waited on him with due humility, accompanied by other zamindars and Khandaits of Central Orissa Then, owing to the badness of the climate, Khan-i-Duran fell ill. He was confined to bed for two months, unable to move about. "The rustics (i.e., uncultivated local zamindars) seized the opportunity and caused disorder. Rajah Mukunda Deva absented himself from the force sent by me to punish the rebels, and himself caused lawlessness. The Mughal troops subdued many of the rebels and took several forts After recovering a little, I (i.e., Khan-i-Duran) on 7 February 1661 set out from Katak against the other forts which my subordinates were too weak to capture". "On 16 February, I arrived near the forts of Kaluparah, Mutri, Karakani, Khuridiha and (three) others,—seven forts close to each other on the side of a high hill. An assult was ordered next day. When our troops appeared near the forts, the enemy in a numberless host consisting of paik (Infantry) and cavalry both and Zamindars of Banki and Ranpur and other Bhumiahs and Khandaits offered battle. Our men slew many of them and carried their trenches at the foot of the hill and after repeated charges entered their lines. The enemy fought with matchlocks, arrows, Khandaha (swords), sablis (iron rods), duars, dhukans, sintis, etc., but being unable to resist fled away with their families. A great victory unequalled by that of any former subahdar, was won. The seven forts were captured. Two or three days were spent in settling the conquered district and appointing thanahs".

"On 20 February 1661, I left for the conquest of Khurda, the ancestral home of Mukunda Deva, situated in the midst of a dense jungle and lofty hills. On the 23rd, I encamped a mile from Khurda. The Raja had fled from it, and we seized a vast amount of booty and many prisoners at his capital. During

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the last 50 years no other subahdar had reached these places They were all conquered by my army, and the rustics became the food of the pitiless sword. I gave Mukunda Deva's throne to his younger brother Bhunarbal. The victorious Subahdar halted at Khurda for some days. The fate of the premier Rajah of the province struck a salutary terror in the hearts of the other evil-doers. All the lawless men waited on the governor with every mark of submission The zamindars of Banki and Khand Narendra (Banpur) sent trusty agents to arrange for their interview with Khan i-Duran. Thus the path for collecting the revenue had been opened in all places and mahals. Rajah Mukunda Deva, who had been ill-advised to defy the authority of the subahdar and withhold tribute, finding no way of escape, submitted and appeared before Khan-i-Duran on 18 March 1660. The rebel Bharat Pattnayak also did the same."[P1]

An interesting account of the Khurda Rajahs is furnished in a letter of the Khan-i-Duran to his agent at the Imperial Court. 'Received your letter reporting that a counterfit Gangadhar has gone to the court and secured an interview with Kumar Ram Singh (Kachhwa, son of Mirza Rajah Jay Singh) through the mediation of Rai Brindabandas, the musharraf (Head of the elephant department) and offered to pay every year twelve lakhs of rupees as tribute if the State is given to him. When I arrived in this province, Mukunda Dev was the Rajah of Khurda. As he caused distrubances, I expelled him from his zamindari and gave the 'tika' of Rajaship to his younger brother and reported the case to the Emperor. I have learnt the following facts from trustworthy men: "When the late Mutaqad Khan was Subahdar, he slew Narashingh Deva and made his nephew Gangadhar Rajah. Balavadra Dev, the elder brother of the slain, became Rajah after killing Gangadhar with the help of the officers of the State. When he died. Mukunda Dev succeeded at the age of four years only. During the administration of Md. Haiat, the agent of Shuja, a pretended Gangadhar appeared and created a disturbance. He was slain by a confederacy of the Zamindars near Katak. After my

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arrival in the province, another man claiming to be the same (Rajah) appeared in Tilmal (in south Orissa). Md. Jan, the faujdar of that district arrested him and sent him to me, and he is still confined in the fort of Mankhandi at Katak. They say another man assuming the same name is roving in the jungles".[23]

The above mentioned source of Mughal history describes the Khan-i-Duran as successful in his conquest of the Khurda Kingdom. But there is no mention of it in the Madla Panji. According to K. N. Mohapatra, Madla Panji maintained silence in order to hide the defeat of the Gajapati.[23] Only a brief reference was made to the episode in the following words : 'after this, his (Balavadra Deva) son of Mukunda Deva had become the Maharaja. During the reign of this Maharaja, Mahalia Gangadhara became king for one month seventeen days. He was killed at Dhabaleswar. In the meantime Mukunda Deva Maharaja's younger brother Kapila Bhramarbar Rai became king for one year seven months. After this he was captured and imprisoned by Raja Mukunda Deva'[24].

The accounts of the Madla Panji corroborate the facts as described in the Muraqat-i-Hassan. When Mukunda Deva was defeated and fled away, Khan-i-Duran gave the throne of Khurda to his younger brother Bhramarbar. But subsequently Mukunda Deva was able to capture the throne and imprisoned his brother Bhramarbar. Mukunda Deva was defeated in March 1662, as gathered from Muraqat-i-Hassan. According to Madla Panji his brother Bhramarbar reigned only for one year and seven months. After that, Mukunda recaptured the throne. The date of his restoration falls in October 1662. It seems that he recaptured the throne after severe fighting. But the Mughal history is completely silent about his victory. Perhaps he was excused in due course by the Mughal Subahdar and was recognised as the ruler of Khurda. Because, according to Madla Panji, after restoration he continued to rule till he died in A.D. 1688.[25]

Khan-i-Duran next turned his attention to the second Bhanja Prince, Lakshmi Narayan Bhanja of Keonjhar, who had wrested

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the fort of Bachhara from the followers of Shuja. The subahdar on 8 March 1661 ravaged Keonjhar after recovering the fort. At a subsequent date Bahadur Khan of Hijli was defeated and captured with his family. The submission of most other Zamindars followed. The Zamindar Khand Narendra of Ranpur and the Zamindars of Malhipara and Dumparah, who had never before waited on any subahdar, submitted to Khan-i-Duran and agreed to pay tribute. The Zamindars on the further side of the river Katjhuri, who had withheld tribute and fought the faujdar Sayid Sher Khan, were also defeated. At the same time the Mughal faujdar of Malud was successful in suppressing the rebellion of Pitam (?), the Zamindar of Andhari and Kumar Guru, the Zamindar of Malud.[96]

The Zamindar of Kanika had taken shelter in an island in sea. He was besieged by faujdar Muhammad Jan, with the help of Gopali, the Zamindar of Kujang. Finally the Rawat Rai of Kujila Madhupur, Harichandan of Kulrah were also subdued. Chhot Rai, the Zamindar of Khalikot had dispersed the ryots the pargana of Medinipur and built a fort in the forest with evil intentions. But his sons were thrown into prison and he submitted.[97]

Raja Nilakantha Deva was a loyal servant of the empire. He fought under the Mughal banners with his contingent. Pargana Qutbshahi or Chicacole in Ganjam district was his Jagir, which he administered through his agent Gajadhar. Rs. 4,400 were due from the Raja as arrears of revenue. His brothers had been placed in confinement by Ihtishan Khan for default. But Khan-i-Duran secured their release for the loyal service of Nilakantha Deva.[98]

As a result of such operations, the Imperial authority was restored in Orissa, and people began to enjoy peace and order. The Imperial revenue which had entirely dried up during the inter-regnum, began to be realised again. Khan-i-Duran could legitimately boast of his military successes, which in his own words were "unrivalled by any preceding subahdar". As he wrote in his despatches to Aurangzeb, "I have punished all the usurpers, oppressors, and lawlessmen of the province and made

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them obedient. The revenue is being collected by our officers. The people are enjoying peace and happiness and plying their trades". And, again, a year latter, about Aprill 1662, he wrote, "The province is being well administered".[79]

After taking effective possession of the province and restoring order, Khan-i Duran, early in 1662 sent five elephants as his present to the Emperor on the occasion of the marriage of two of his (the Khan's) sons, together with two other elephants presented by the Sultan of Golkonda. These elephants reached the Court in May 1662 which is known from the official history of Aurangzeb (Alamgirnamah, 751).[80]

It was during the viceroyalty of Khan-i-Duran that Pipli and Balasore were transferred to the subah of Bengal while Shaista Khan was the Governor of Bengal. The news of this transfer was reported in a letter from the Dutch Governor-General and Council to the Directors in Holland in January 1667. The letter said : "Khwaja Muhammad Yusuf, Governor of Pipli and Balasore, having been much harrassed by the exactions of Chan Doura (Khan Duran), Nawab of Orissa fled to Dacca with 16 or 18 armed vessels (which had been equipped for Arakanese war) and there placed himself under the protection of Cha Estachan (Shaista Khan). By the favour of the emperor, the government of letter (i.e. Bengal) was extended into Orissa ; the aforesaid Balasore and Pipli being withdrawn from Chan Dowra... Cha Estachan (Shaista Khan) now being the master of these sea-ports (i.e., Pipli and Balasore), it will be more than ever necessary to gain his favour".[81]

Khan-i-Duran died in September 1667. The news of his death reached Aurangzeb on 7 December, 1667. Thereupon Alivardi Khan was appointed as the Subahdar of Orissa on 7 September 1667. But he remained as the subahdar only for a very short period.[82] Because, as it has been mentioned in Maasir-i-Alamgiri, 'Tarbiyat Khan's offences were pardoned, and he was sent to Orissa as subahdar vice Khan-i-Duran deceased'.[83] Tarbiyat Khan continued as the subahdar till October 1669. He was succeeded by Safi Khan.[84] In this connection R. D. Banerji states : 'Sarkar's list of the Subahdars

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of Orissa is only partly correct. Khan-i-Duran was succeeded in June 1667 by Tarbiyat Khan who governed the province till May 1669 Other accounts place one Kobad Khan, Mir Akbar in 1668, before Tarbiyat Khan··· Tarbiyat Khan was succeeded in October 1669 by Safi Khan whose period of government is not known.[85] He is perhaps called "Ruffee Ckanna Nabob of Orissa" by certain English writers, who confirmed the privileges of the English merchants granted by Aurangzeb in his thirteenth year.[86] The next subahdar of Orissa according to the list of J. N. Sarkar was Sadullah Khan[87]. But his subahdarship is doubtful. Therefore, Safi Khan was succeeded by Rashid Khan.[88] Rashid Khan's tenure of office came to an end in March 1676 when Shayista Khan I, apparently Aurangzib's maternal uncle and the Subahdar of Bengal, governed the province till the end of that year". About the appointment of Shaista Khan, the official history of Aurangzeb contains the following:

'On Wednesday, the 29th March 1676, the imperial order was issued, Ruhullah, an armed personal attendant, conveyed to the Amir-ul-Umara (Shaista Khan), a robe, a jewelled dagger, and a farman praising him for the conquest of Morang, and appointing him Subahdar of Orissa vice Rashid Khan with two krors of dam as reward'[89]. Shaista Khan was perhaps succeeded by Salih Khan. There is a gap of two years Shayista Khan which was perhaps filled by Salih Khan[40]. In June 1678 one Nurullah came as the agent of prince Azam, then Subahdar of Bengal[41]. The past historians on Orissa have failed to locate the Subahdars by whom Orissa was ruled from A.D. 1678 till about the end of the seventeenth centuy. It remained as a puzzle for different scholars.[42] But the gaps of this period have been solved with the discovery of two important Persian inscriptions such hs Shahi Mosque inscription, Jajpur and Juma mosque inscription, Balu Bazar, Cuttack. From these two inscriptions, it is known that Abu Nasar Khan and Akram Khan were the Subahdars of Orissa during this period.

Nawab Abu Nasar Khan and Nawab Akram Khan built mosques at Jajpur and Cuttack during the reign of Aurangzeb.

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The mosque at Jajpur is still called the Abu Nasar mosque which was erected in 1098 Hijri (1686-87 A.D.) according to the inscription inserted on it. The following is the English translation of the Persian inscription.

'In the time of Aurangzeb, whose splendour reached the stars and will remain as the stars endure, in the time of Nawab whose virtues are altogether beyond praise or description, the Nawab established in the city of Jajpur a mosque of such magnificence that the domes of it make the sky conceal itself. If you desire to hear the messages of the angels, spend a night in it Abu Nasar Khan reigned when the mosque was erected—then was the time of Abu Nasar Khan. The arithmetical value of the letters gives the date of the building 1098 Hijri'.[43]

The Juma Masjid at Balubazar in Cuttack according to the persian inscription inserted on it, was built in 1102 Hijra (A.D. 1690-91) by Zaibun Nisa Khanum[44], the Shahzada Begum, when Akram Khan was the governor during the reign of Aurangzeb. The following is the English translation of the inscription.

'During the reign of emperor, Alamgir, the just exalted, with the power of whose showered religion was strengthened in India. There was a nazim of this country, a Nawab of high status. His tittle was Ekram Khan, the most respectable and respectful. Through the showers of spring of justice and equity, the city of Cuttack became as charming as the Garden Arem (Paradise). Nobody can decipher any wrinkle on his forehead at the time of his doing deeds of generosity. He is a great slave (devotee) of Pir-i-Dastagir (Hazrat Abdul Yudir of Gilani) and so he was worthy of getting the title of Khan-i-Khanan. Resort of modesty and abode of honour and chastity, brilliance of imperial dynasty, and lustre of imperial throne. Light of the eye sight of the ladies of the Harem, Shahzada Beghum (Zaibun Nesa) who is as pious, righteous and God-fearing as Mary. She built this magnificent mosque for the prayer of the God. This mosque is as pure as divine house (Kaaba). Its bouquet is the Cyprus like high tower from where the Mowazzin expounds the divine secrets. On its floor assemble many devotees seeking divine favours and so in their ears there comes the echo or voice of Amen from all

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sides. When this mosque was completed the Murwre (Muse of learning) Lamen-table said, "Calculate the date of its completion after the name of the princess". The magnificent pen wrote the auspicious date thus—'At divine command Mohiuddin (Aurangzeb) built this mosque 1102 A.H. (A.D. 1690-91)".[45]

These two corroborative and contemporary inscriptions in Orissa throw light on the history of the reigning Mughal Nawabs of Orissa during the reign of Aurangzeb in the last quarter of 17th century.

According to Madla Panji, Maharaja Mukunda Deva and his son Maharaja Divyasimha Deva of the Khurda family ruled in Orissa from A.D. 1655-1692 and A.D. 1692-1715 respectively. The account of Mukunda Deva in Madla Panji contained the following reference to Nawab Nasar Khan :

'In the 38th regular year (31st year of the reign of this Maharaja) Nawab Abdul (Abu ?) Nasar Khan came upto Pipli in order to spoil the Jagannath temple. Mukunda Deva with family met with him at Danda Mukundapur and resided there at palace. At Pipli there was a thunder struck in the month of Chaitra and so the Nawab returned to Cuttack after making friendship with the Raja'.[46]

From the above account, it is gathered that Nawab Abu Nasar Khan met Maharaja Mukunda Deva in the year 1687.

The account of Maharaja Divyasimha Deva contains the following reference to Nawab Akram Khan. 'On the 18th day of Rsabha in the 7th Anka or regnal year the Mughals appeared at Puri. The images of the temple were concealed in a place behind the temple Bimala'.

'On the 18th day of Rsabha and the Harana Ekadasi Nawab Akram Khan was appointed by Padshah Aurangshah came to Puri. His brother Marmast Khan Jamula and Jaman Koli accompanied by 50 cavalry came also with him. They and the Raja Divyasimha Deva broke the "Gumuta" (the small closed room with a small door) of the lion gate of the temple. They also removed the disc of the Bhogamandapa. The Mughals also took the wooden image of Jagannath. The brother of Nawab went upto the Sinhasana of the temple'.[47]

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This account of Madla Panji has also been mentioned in the Chakada pothi in the following manner :

'On 7th Anka 18th day of Rsabha Thursday Akram's brother Jamal and Abdulla Khan, both came from Badshah and entered into Purushottama (Puri) along with the Raja. (The raja) broke the main gate of the temple and closed the lion gate. He built three images alike the image of Jagannath and handed over to Jamal He took them to Cuttack and sent them to Badshah'.[48]

These accounts are corroborated by the Tabsirat-ul-Nazirin which contains the following :

'He (Mir Sayyid Mahmud of Bilgram) was a man held in great respect and served under Nawab Ikram in Orissa. When Aurangzeb had sent orders to the Nawab to destroy the temple of Jagannatha, Raja Durup Singh Deo who had the temple under him asked the Mir to introduce him to the Nawab The Raja promised to break the temple and to send the big idol to the emperor. He actually did break the statue of Rakas which stood over the entrance of the temple, and also two battlements over the door. The idol which was made of Sandal wood and which had two valuable jewels set in the eyes, was carried off and sent to Aurangzeb at Bijapur, when it was thrown by order on the steps of the mosque'.[49]

The Muslim historian has not given the date of this incident. But gives another date. According to reference in Madla Panji to Rsabha (Brusa) 19th Harana Ekadashi Tithi makes the date equivalent to 16th May 1692.[50] It is known that emperor Aurangzeb was staying at Bijapur from March 1691 to May 1692. So it is certain that the wooden image of Jagannath was sent to Bijapur in the month of May as mentioned in Tabsirat-ul-Nazirin.

Thus from the above discussion it is certain that during the last two decades of the 17th century Nawab Abu Nasar Khan, son of Shaista Khan and Nawab Akram Khan, son-in-law of Aurangzeb ruled in Orissa from A.D. 1683 to 1698.[51]

After Ikram Khan, in June 1698, Ghaznafar Khan became the Subahdar of Orissa and he died in Orissa in August 1700. He was succeeded by Askar Khan in September 1700 who ruled

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till his death in December 1702[53]. He was perhaps succeeded by Kamgar Khan. Kamgar Khan was dismissed from the subahdarship of Orissa and he returned to the court in the 48th year (A.D. 1703-1704) of the reign of Aurangzeb.[54]

The grandson of Aurangzeb, Azim-us-Shan became the subahdar of Bengal in November 1697. For the next three years, he enjoyed a free-hand in the administration of the province. But thereafter a new man entered the Bengal administration who ultimately laid the foundation of a new dynasty and thereby gave a new turn to the history of the province. He was Murshid Quli Khan with whom began the Nawabi-rule in Bengal and Orissa.

The Subahdari of Orissa being temporarily in abeyance, Murshid Quli Khan was appointed Faujdar of Orissa shortly before 1704. Maasir-i-Alamgiri states that 'Murshid Quli Khan, defender of the province of Orissa and diwan of (the establishment of) Muhammad Azim and of the province of Bengal was a $1\frac{1}{2}$ hazari and now got an increment of 500 zat'.[54] Akhbarat says that he was a faujdar of Orissa.[55] Thus in 1703, he was appointed deputy subahdar of Orissa where he subsequently became full-fledged subahdar.

Murshid Quli Khan appointed his son-in-law Sujauddin Muhammad Khan as his Naib-Nazim in Orissa. There is a reference of Sujauddin in the Madla Panji in the following manner. 'In the 24th Anka (of Dibyasingha Deva of Khurda) Nawab Suja Khan fought by creating disturbance'[56]. Suja Khan of the Madla Panji was the Naib-Nazim of Orissa. Sujauddin Muhammad Khan was appointed in A.D. 1706[57]. The date and time given in the Madla Panji is equivalent to 11 September 1707.

In 1707, the last of the Great Mughals, Aurangzeb breathed his last. Ominous symptoms of decay and disruption of the Mughal empire were clearly visible even during the life time of Aurangzeb himself. Owing to the short-sighted policy and religious bigotry of Aurangzeb, the foundation of the empire had been shaken before the old and infirm emperor himself had reached his journey's end. During the evil days that followed the death of Aurangzeb the entire administrative structure collapsed and

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the parts of the empire broke away from the whole. The phantom figures that now ascended the peacock throne of Delhi were a disgrace to the Great Mughals. They could not check their governors from being independent rulers in their respective provincial spheres. Thus when the Mughal empire was breaking away into a number of independent states, Murshid Quli Khan became the Nawab of Bengal and Subahdar of Orissa. Henceforward began the rule of the Nawabs in Bengal and Orissa. To all intents and purposes these Nawabs or Nazims were independent of Delhi and carried on their administration in the said provinces.

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38. Rashid Khan also granted a farman to the English. Vide "*Countries round the Bay of Beugal*", note to p. 153.
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43. *List of ancient monuments in Orissa Division*, Bengal, revised and corrected upto 31.8.1895, Calcutta 1896, pp.10 f.

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44. Zaibum Nisa Begum was the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb. Through the auspicious upbringing of Aurangzeb, she learnt the Quran by rote. She had completely mastered the Arabic and Persian languages. She appreciated the value of learning and skill and had turned her attention to improve the condition of the scholars and gifted men (Vide *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 332).
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Chapter Seven

ORISSA UNDER THE NAZMIS OF BENGAL
(1707-1751)

Part I

Murshin Quli Khan I, Shujauddin Mohammed and Sharfaraz Khan
(1707-1740)

Emperor Aurangzeb died in 1707. Disintegration of the Mughal Empire began shortly thereafter. During that period of confusion, political condition of eastern India took a new shape. A new dynasty emerged to give a new turn to the history of the three Mughal provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The founder of that dynasty was Muhammad Hadi alias Murshid Quli Khan Jafar Khan Nasiri who began to rule those provinces as the independent Nawab.

Murshid Quli Khan was a court noble. In the time of Aurangzeb, he was appointed to the office of the Dewan of Bengal in 1701. He was a good administrator and worked with caution and sagacity[1]. Therefore, he became one of the most trusted officers of Aurangzeb. From Bengal, Murshid Quli supplied huge sums of money to Aurangzeb to meet the needs of the Deccan wars. Although Murshid Quli Khan was neither a subahdar nor a Naib subahdar of Bengal before 1713, he enjoyed enormous power and influence from the beginning. The emperor assured Murshid Quli of his favour and protection in all possible ways against the official clique of Bengal[2]. Till the death of Aurangzeb, Murshid Quli was left dominant in Bengal and promotions and honours were continually bestowed on him. In 1703, he was appointed Naib subahdar and diwan of Orissa where he subsequently became full-fledged subahdar[3].

In Orissa also, Murshid Quli gave ample proof of his ability as a diwan and governor. At that time Orissa was a disturbed

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state and a source of trouble to the Mughal government. To face the challenge, Murshid Quli transferred the jagirs of a large number of mansabdars from Bengal to Orissa on condition that they should devote more attention to cultivation and to maintain peace and order. For administrative convenience the district of Medinipur was separated from the province of Orissa and was kept under Bengal for all times to come[4]. Murshid Quli introduced better method of collection of revenue and made it less expensive. Within a year, income from land revenue increased considerably. Murshid Quli's revenue settlements and other administrative measures in Orissa pleased Aurangzeb greatly who increased his 'Zat' (Swars) by 500 more in the rank[5].

During that time the administration of Bihar was out of gear. To put things in order, Aurangzeb asked Murshid Quli to take charge of Bihar as well, the latter appointed his deputy to effect a series of administrative measures there. Within a short time, Bihar was pacified and an orderly government was established[6] in that province.

By 1704, Murshid Quli was left with absolute authority as the diwan of Bengal and Bihar, and as the subahdar and diwan of Orissa. Thus he came to possess tremendous power and prestige in the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. That power and authority together with the emperor's boundless praise for him, made Murshid Quli an eye-sore of Azim-us-Shan, the grandson of Aurangzeb, subahdar of Bengal from 1697 to 1712. The causes of friction between the two were numerous. Murshid Quli claimed control over all financial transactions and Azim-us-Shan's desire for enriching himself and his unfounded extravagance thus received a severe check. The peculations of the courtiers was also at an end and Murshid Quli Khan soon became the most unpopular man in Dacca at the viceregal court[7].

Azim-us-Shan, enraged beyond measure by the strictness of the diwan, finally resorted to violence and intrigue. He organised a plot to murder Murshid Quli, but the plot failed and Murshid Quli escaped unhurt. He immediately informed everything to Aurangzeb. Realising that it would no

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longer be safe for him to stay at Dacca, he choose for his residence the village of Muxadabad and to that place he transferred his office with the entire staff of the revenue department. The name of the village was latter changed, with the emperor's permission, to Murshidabad. Meanwhile the emperor, in a letter, severely reprimanded Azim-us-Shan for his ill-treatment to the diwan and he was ordered to leave Dacca forthwith and to proceed immediately to Bihar. 'With him', writes Bradley, 'departed all the public offices—the immense following that gathers round an Eastern Court-and all signs of authority, embarked in a great fleet that covered the river for many miles. Slowly the long procession passed from sight and Dacca was left strangely quiet and deserted.[8] Azim-us-Shan left his son Farrukh Siyar as his deputy in Bengal.

With the departure of Azim-us-Shan, Murhid Quli's power became almost absolute in the province. Farrukh Siyar was ordered by Aurangzeb to rule the province according to the advice of the Dewan. After the death of Aurangzeb, Azim-us-Shan hurried to the assistance of his father Bahadur Shah in his struggle with Azim Shah.[9] After the accession of Bahadur Shah, Azim-us-Shan was again appointed subahdar of Bengal and Bihar. But he governed these provinces through his sons Farrukh Siyar and Karim-uddin as deputy Subahdars. There was a change in the fortune of Murshid Quli Khan. He was kept out of Bengal, being transferred as Diwan to the Deccan (1708-1709). But in 1710, Murshid Quli was brought back to Bengal as Diwan again. After the accession of Farrukh Siyar to the imperial throne in 1713, the subahdari of Bengal was conferred on the new emperor's infant son Farkhunda with Murshid Quli as his deputy. He also became the Subahdar of Orissa in his own name. It was in August 1717 that Murshid Quli was formally appointed full-fledged Subahdar of Bengal. Upon the accession of Muhammad Shah in 1720 the subahdari of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were granted to Murshid Quli Khan which he enjoyed till his death in 1727.[10]

Even before his confirmation as Viceroy, Murshid Quli paved the way for hereditary succession in the north-eastern provinces

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of the Mughal empire by the appointment of his son-in-law, Shujauddin as his deputy in Orissa during the lifetime of Aurangzeb. According to Siyar-ul-Mutakharin, Shujauddin was appointed as the Naib Nazim in 1706.[11] This date also been corroborated by Madla Panji according to which Shujauddin was the Subahdar of Orissa by 11 September 1707.[12] Shujauddin remained in his post till 1727, after which he became the subahdar (Nazim) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, at the death of Murshid Quli. Jadunath Sarkar in his 'List of Mughal Governors of Orissa' has mentioned the names of Governor's. Murshid Quli Khan—1703-1710 ; Khan-i-Alam (also Khan-i-Jahan II)—January 1711 to 6th May 1714 ; Murshid Quli Khan again—May 1714-1727, governs through his deputy Shujaʿuddin Md. Khan—1717-1727.[13] But it is doubtful whether there was a break in Murshid Quli's subahdarship in Orissa when Khan-i-Alam became subahdar. Shujauddin was appointed as the Naib Nazim in 1706 and not in 1717 as mentioned by Jadunath Sarkar. Because the inscription of Shujauddin on the building of Qadam-i-Rasul at Cuttack mentions the date 1715.[14] Therefore, it is evident that Shujauddin remained as the deputy of Murshid Quli Khan from 1706 to 1727.

Shujauddin was an inhabitant of Burhanpur, the ancient capital of the province of Khandesh He belonged to the "Afshas", which was a Turkish tribe of Khorasan. During the stay of Aurangzeb in the Deccan, he married Zinat-un-nisha, the daughter of Murshid Quli Khan, the then Dewan of Bengal. With the political rise of Murshid Quli Khan, Shujauddin also rose, so much so that during the Viceroyalty of Murshid Quli, Shujauddin became the deputy subahdar of Orissa.

Shujauddin, a Siha Muslim was a kind-hearted man. Therefore he followed a liberal policy in Orissa. Perhaps due to this policy, the car festival of Jagannath at Puri was once again revived in 1707.[15] According to some, the cult of Satyapira, that is to be found in Orissa today, was introduced by Shujauddin. The famous octagonal building of Qadam-i-Rasul at Cuttack was constructed by Shujauddin in 1715, with the specific purpose of sheltering the sacred relics of prophet Mohammad. Apart

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from this, he had also constructed a sarai, a mosque and a reservoir in the compound of Qadam-i-Rasul monument. Shujauddin had also built a fort at a distance of two miles from Kakatpur in the Puri district, and had named it Shujagarh after his name. At Shujagarh still there are the ruins of that fort.[16] Under the subahdarship of Shujauddin, Orissa enjoyed complete peace and there was no interference in the religious affairs of the state. Therefore there is no mention of any such incident in the Madla Panji from 1706 to 1727.

During the rule of Shujauddin in Orissa, his contemporary Khurda kings were Divyasingha Deva (1688-1716), Harekrushna Deva (1716-1720) and Gopinath Deva (1720-1727). Gopinath Deva for the first time had appointed Mirza Sayed Baig, a Mughal as his Diwan. The reason was to maitain link with the Mughal Government through persian which was the court language. The name of Mirza Muhammad Syed Baig as Diwan has been mentioned in one 'Donation order' of Gopinath Dev written in both persian and Oriya language.[17] This Gopinath Deva was a man of evil character and his hobby was to enjoy beautiful girls by force. Once the king of Banpur, Krushna Chandra Narendra was coming with his family to visit the temple of Jagannath at Puri. Gopinath Deva along with his associates attacked the Palinki of the princess of Ranpur and tried to took her out. He was counter-attacked by the king of Ranpur and Gopinath Deva fled away. After this incident Krushna Chandra Narendra met the Diwan Mirza Syed Baig and Bakshi Benu Bhamarbar Rai. The three consulted among themselves and finally killed the king Gopinath Deva inside his Khurda palace before dawn[18]. After his murder, his younger brother Kesab Rai Goswain, succeeded to the throne with the title of Ramachandra Deva II.

The principal confidents of Shujauddin were the brothers Haji Ahmad and Alivardi Khan, the Hindu Rai Alamchand and a Marwari Bania named Fath-Chand, who was subsequently created Jagat-seth.[19] The two brothers Haji Ahmad and Alivardi Khan were men of great merit and their services to Shujauddin conduced much to the stability of his government.[20]

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But the relation between the father-in-law Murshid Quli Khan and the son-in-law Shujauddin was never cordial. This was not only due to their differences in temperament but also to the dissatisfaction of Zinat-un-Nisha, with her husband for his vile moral character. Shujauddin had separated from his wife immediately after his appointment to Orissa. For most of the time, Zinut-un-Nisha lived with her father at Murshidabad along with her only son Sharfaraz.[21] Murshid Quli Khan, therefore, was displeased with Shujauddin. Towards the end of his life, Murshid Quli in view of his ill-health, was anxious that Sharfaraz should succeed him in office. Hence he did his best to obtain imperial consent to the succession of his grand-son to the government of Bengal and Orissa. It was therefore that he asked the Mughal Emperor through his representatives to appoint Sharfaraz Khan, who was then the Diwan of Bengal, act as the Viceroy of Bengal. But Shujauddin had an eye on the masnad of Bengal. Hearing the project of Murshid Quli, Shujauddin consulted Alivardi Khan and Haji Ahmad. With their advice, Shujauddin took all possible measures to get timely information of what was happening at Murshidabad and to secure letters-patent from the imperial court in his favour. He made a representation to the Mughal Emperor, asking His Majesty to be pleased to confer upon him the Viceroyality of Bengal and Orissa. He submitted his representation with a magnificent present. He then arranged for two daks, one from Orissa to Murshidabad with a view to get timely information of the health of Murshid Quli Khan, who was suffering from a fatal disease and the other from Orissa to Shahjahanabad for a reply from the Emperor. Ostensibly he dismissed some of his military officers and sent them to Murshidabad to remain in different places and wait his arrival. He made extensive arrangements for boats as the road were then almost impossible on account of the rainy season[22].

After arranging everything, Shujauddin anxiously waited for an opportunity till at last he received the intelligence of the despatch of the royal sanad and of the approaching death of Murshid Quli, who it was said could not live for more than five

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or six days. As soon as it clearly known to him that Murshid Quli's days were numbered, Shujauddin at once set out from Cuttack taking with him Alivardi Khan and other nobles and troops as he thought sufficient for Murshidabad. He left in Orissa Muhammad Taqi Khan, his another son by his second wife, to act for him as his deputy. He travelled partly by boat and partly by land. On the way, Shujauddin heard the news of Murshid Quli's death, while the royal sanads conferring upon him the Viceroyality of Bengal and Orissa also reached him. He named the place where he received his auspicious news Mubarak Manzil. From there he hurried to Murshidabad, and arrived there within a few days. He held his court in 'Chehlul Seton' (the palace of forty pillars), the hall of public audience constructed by Murshid Quli Khan. He sat in a right royal manner with his companions and ordered the Diwan to read the royal 'Sanads'. He ordered the imperial music to strike up in rejoicing and took presents from the residents of the place. His son, Sharfaraz Khan was then two miles distant from the scene of action in full confidence that he was the designed and undoubted heir of Murshid Quli in his office and estate. He did not know anything what was happening within the city of Murshidabad. Sharfaraz Khan was taken by surprise and consulted his friends and courtiers as soon as he heard the sounds of rejoicing and was informed of the facts. Without a dissentient voice all advised him 'that as his father had received and proclaimed his patents ; had taken possession of the masnad of command as well as of the palace and the city ; had been peaceably acknowledged and was the master of the treasury, there remained no other course open to him, but that of submission'. Accordingly Sharfaraz abandoned the idea of resisting his father and quietly submitted to him. Sharfaraz Khan, then rode, and went to his father and, after offering his congratulations made a present to him. Shujauddin seated his son on his lap and confirmed him in his post of Diwan of the Khalsa Sharifa (Government lands) of Bengal. He, moreover, bestowed favours on his son, and treated him so affectionately and with so much distinction that both he and his mother

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forgot the death of Murshid Quli Khan and felt resigned to their lot.[28]

Shujauddin after finishing his domestic business and conciliating the family and relatives of Murshid Quli Khan, bnsied himself in the management of state affairs and attempted to act independently. In some matters, he also consulted Alivardi Khan and Haji Ahmad. He took the revenue and settlement departments in his hands, and worked with the assistance of Rai Alam Chand, an experienced revenue officer and his former Diwan in Orissa. He appointed Jagat Seth Fatch Chand, who was a millionaire and the most famous banker of his time, as a cashier of the state and companion. He made himself the head of the judicial department and personally disposed of civil cases. Once in a week he heard parties and administered even-handed justice. It was therefore that the public was very grateful to him. He appointed his son-in-law Murshid Quli Khan Bahadur Rustam Jang the Deputy Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca). He appointed Syed Ahmad Khan, son of Haji Ahmad, the faujdar of Rajmahal and Nawazish Muhammad Khan, the nephew and eldest son-in-law of Alivardi Khan, the Bakshi of the army. Alivardi Khan, Haji Ahmad, Alam Chand and Jagat Seth Fatch Chand had a hand in all administrative and revenue matters. It was at this time that Fakhr ud-daulah was transferred by the order of the Emperor Muhammad Shah from the Subahdarship of Bihar. Shujauddin took this opportunity of asking the Emperor for a sanad in his own name appointing him the Subahdar of Bihar. When the government of Bihar was conferred on him by the Emperor, Shujauddin appointed his son Sharfaraz Khan to act as his deputy. But the mother of Sharfaraz was unwilling to separate her son from her. Consequently she asked her husband Shujauddin to appoint Alivardi Khan to act as the Subahdar of Bihar as a deputy of Sharfaraz Khan. At her instance, Alivardi Khan became the recipient of these very things at the hands of Shujauddin as well. Shujauddin also gave him the rank of Panj Hazari, the title of Mahabat Jang Bahadur and the privilege of keeping the flag and the band (Naqara). Thus Shujauddin

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sowed the seeds of the downfall of his own house by appointing his favourite Alivardi as his Deputy in Azimabad-Patna.[24]

Shujauddin in the meantime raised one crore and fifty lakhs of rupees from the provinces which he sent as revenue to Delhi through the banking house of Seth Fatch Chand. By selling the property of Mushid Quli Khan he raised another forty lakhs which he also sent to Delhi according to the Mughal custom of escheat of a deceased officer's property to the Crown. For this he received the title of Mutamin-ul-Mulk, Shuja-ud-daulah Shujauddin Muhammad Khan Bahadur Asad Jang and the command of seven thousand with 7,000 additional troops, besides a fringed palki, a jewelled sword and an elephant and a horse.[25]

During the early years of Shujauddin's subahdari, peace reigned supreme in the three provinces. Bihar, which proved to be a very troublesome province, was pacified by the wise administration of Alivardi Khan. In Orissa, Shujauddin had appointed his son Muhammad Taqi Khan (from his second wife) as Naib Nazim. Taqi Khan had constructed the Qadam-i-Rasul building at Balasore which is known from a 'sanad' issued by him in 1730.[26] He is also said to have had a hunting palace at Remuna five miles from Balasore under the Niligiri hills. There are still at Remuna extensive ruins of Muhammadan tombs and buildings. Taqi Khan is well remembered in Balasore, and his character for piety stands high.[27] It is known from Thomas Motte's description that Taqi Khan had also built some Muslim monuments at Jajpur. 'The ruins in Jehazpoor (Jajpur)' writes Motte, 'declare its former grandure ; and the extreme pleasant situation, the judgement of the founder Mahmud Tuckee Khan. The road lies through the ruins of the palace, of which only two gateways and the mosque remain entire'.[28] Though the capital was at Cuttack, Taqi Khan stayed for most of the time at Jajpur. 'The Deputy of Nawab Shujauddin, Md. Taqi Khan, held his court and built a palace at Jajpur. The palace stood on the side of the present sub-divisional buildings, and old inhabitants of the place still remember to have been seen it standing ; one of these, Qadir Shah, an Octagenerian, supplied me (B. C. Nanerji) with the following

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information : "The house of Md. Taqi I saw. Its gates stood here. It would have stood up to this time, but for the vegeance which one of the Marhatta amildars took upon us. This was Gouranga Rai, a Bengali He greatly oppressed us, ruined some of our mosques, and removed the stones from Taqi Khan's palace, to build his own mansion and the temple of Gobindji at Bhog Madhava".[29] In 1733-34, Taqi Khan had also built a 'Dargha' at Pipli which is known from the inscription of the place.[30] In the time of Taqi Khan, all parts of the sarkar Jaleswar lying north of the Subarnarekha river transferred to Bengal, thus making the river the northern boundary of Orissa.[31]

Taqi Khan is known as extremely greedy, oppressive and cruel in Orissa. He was very much unpopular in Orissa because he plundered the temple of Jagannath at Puri for its riches and attacked the kingdom of Khurda. The contemporary king of Khurda was Ramachandra Deva II (1727-1736). His reign covering nearly a decade was very unhappy due to the repeated invasion and subjugation of the Khurda territory by Taqi Khan. In this time the Nizam of Hyderabad obtained possession of the entire country included between the estates called Tikally Raghunathpur (43 miles N.E. of Chicacole), and the Chilka lake, thus greatly reducing the revenues and authority of the Raja of Khurda, whose control had before extended on the hill side, from cumser to within forty miles of Chicacole.[32] Therefore, Ramachandra Deva II in consultation with his young Prime Minister Paramlakshmi Rajguru Mohapatra, declared war against the Nizam. Ramachandra Deva appealed Taqi Khan for help but he declined. But Ramachandra Deva was given help by Mir Habib, the Deputy of Murshid Quli Khan II, the son-in-law of Shujauddin. Because Murshid Quli II had established friendship with the Raja of Khurda due to his enmity with Taqi Khan.[33]

Ramachandra Deva himself fought against the Nizam staying in the southern boundary. From the battlefield, Ramachandra Deva had written a letter to his Diwan, Benu Bhamarbar Rai, who was in charge of the Khurda fort in the absence of the Raja. From this letter it is known that Murad Khan, the former Naib-

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subahdar of the southern Mughal territory, after being driven out by the Nizam, fought against him along with Ramachandra Deva. Mir Habib had come nearer to help Ramachandra secretly. From the battlefield, Murad Khan went and met Mir Habib and came to know about the failure in the fighting against the Nizam. Therefore, Ramachandra Deva sent the letter in the hand of his Prime Minister to the Diwan, in order to bring unity among the Zamindars of Orissa to give a strong fight, so that the lost territory could be restored. The war continued for eight months. But the Prime Minister and the Diwan failed to bring unity among the Zamindars. So, the Raja of Khurda was defeated by the Nizam and being frustrated, he returned to Khurda in 1728. The Nizam combined the whole of Chicacole and Ganjam district and continued to rule it as 'southern Sarkar'.[84]

According to Madla Panji, Taqi Khan had invaded Khurda on 2 December 1731. He first destroyed the fort of Sisupalgarh which was situated near Bhubaneswar. Then Taqi Khan captured the fort of Dhauligarh and Rathipur. Khoja Bakshi Benu Bhamarbar and his son Diwan Nilambar Harichandan were in charge of Rathipur. The Paik a soldiers revolted against them and refused to fight.[85] The causes of rebellion has not been mentioned in the Madla Panji. But according to some, one Damodar Purohita and Jiban Dash, a Brahmin, who were the anti-party of Ramachandra Deva II, instigated the Paika soldiers not to fight.[86] However, due to this rebellion the Bakshi and Diwan fled away from Rathipur, leaving it in the hands of the enemy. Ramachandra Deva II was in Khurda at that time. He became very much displeased with the Bakshi and the Diwan. In this internal rebellion had also the hands of Lodhu Mian, the younger son of Abdullah Salam and Khalifa Gadadhar Mangaraj. But both of them always posed to be loyal to Ramachandra Deva II. Therefore, they advised the Raja to appoint them as Bakshi and Diwan and promised to bring a settlement between Taqi Khan and Ramachandra Deva II. The latter believed in their words and accordingly appointed Lodhu Mian as Diwan and Khalifa Gadadhara Mangaraj as Bakshi. Along with the new Diwan

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and Bakshi, Ramachandra Deva II went to Rathipur and met Taqi Khan. Taqi Khan was pleased. As a condition of peace, he demanded the heads of Bakshi Benu Bhamarbar Rai and Diwan Nilambar Harichandan who were the main strength behind Ramachandra Deva II.[37] Apart from this, the Bakshi had taken away the horse of Taqi Khan and now he wanted to take revenge of that insult.[38] However, Ramachandra Deva II agreed to hand over them to Taqi Khan after capture. With this promise he returned to Khurda. Subsequently, the former Bakshi and Diwan were captured, beheaded and their heads were sent to Taqi Khan on 20 December 1731.[39] After this Murad Khan was appointed Bakshi by Ramachandra Deva II.[40]

In spite of this, the war continued at Gangapada near Khurda which was in the charge of Paramlakshmi Rajguru the Prime Minsiter of Ramachandra Deva II.[41] Paramlakshmi bravely with the forces of Taqi Khan, who managed the war from Rathipur. But Ramachandra Deva II apprehended more danger and went to meet Taqi Khan for a cease-fire. The later, in the guise of friendship imprisoned Ramachandra Deva II, his Bakshi and Diwan. Many soldiers were killed and others fled away in an attempt to liberate the Raja.[42] This incident had occurred on 3 January 1732.[43]

On the next day (4 January 1732), the eldest son of Ramachandra Deva, along with his other brothers, declared rebellion against Taqi Khan and remained in the Nausinghgarh with their soldiers. Taqi Khan captured Khurda and proceeded towards Nausinghgarh in order to suppress the rebellion against his authority. On 28 March 1732, he captured Nausinghgarh and the princes fled away to Kodla Athagarh, where they were given shelter by the king of the place. Taqi Khan followed them and captured the whole area till Banpur. Being victorious he returned to Rathipur and marched towards Cuttack along with Ramachandra Deva II. Taqi Khan kept him as a prisoner in the fort of Barabati. The prisoner life of the king began from 23 May 1732.[44]

In the meantime, Bhagirathi Kumar, a son of Ramachandra Deva II with the help of the king of Athagarh (Ganjam) drove

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out the Mughal soldiers from Puri and Khurda. Hearing this news, Taqi Khan along with Ramachandra Deva marched against the rebellions Bhagirathi Kumar in November 1732. Bhagirathi was defeated at Gangapada and fled away to Daspalla. Taqi Khan then kept Ramachandra Deva at Khurda as prisoner in the charge of his army and himself returned to Cuttack. From here Ramachandra Deva II, before Dola festival went to Puri secretly. He performed the Gundicha festival (Car festival of Jagannath) and returned to Khurda in the same night.[45]

According to one tradition of Orissa, Ramachandra Deva II remained as a prisoner for thirteen months and fifteen days. The Prime Minister of Ramachandra Deva II, who was well versed in Persian, pleased Taqi Khan by narrating the Sanskrit poems in Persian. On his request Taqi Khan had liberated Ramachandra from imprisonment.[46] But according to Madla Panji, he was prisoner for six months from January to November 1732. Therefore, it is difficult to accept the tradition. On the other hand, 'Kalijuga Purana', the unpublished manuscript, gives another story. According to this source, Taqi Khan thought that he will rule Orissa undisturbed if he will be able to keep Ramachandra Deva II in his good book. So Taqi Khan had provided him all facilities and comforts in spite of the imprisonment. On the other hand, Ramachandra Deva II, staying even under the control of Taqi Khan, pretended to be faithful. Taqi Khan had given him freedom to move out on horse, and perhaps he was watched from a distance. But Ramachandra was coming back to his place of prisonment. As a result of this Taqi Khan believed in him. After sometime, Ramachandra Deva II fled away to his capital Khurda on horseback.

This incident must have enraged Taqi Khan. In addition to this while Ramachandra Deva II was in imprisonment at Khurda, had ordered his faithful servants to remove the image of Jagannath from the Puri temple. Accordingly, the image was taken to Banpur across the Chilka lake and was kept at Hariswar Mandap. This steps had been taken to save the

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Jagannath from the ravages of Taqi Khan.[47] Therefore, Taqi Khan once again invaded Khurda in 1733. Ramachandra Deva II fled away from Khurda and first took shelter in Nayagarh, then in Khandapada and Bolagarh. The image of Jagannath for its safety was sent to Tikli near Khalicot. Taqi Khan called Bhagirathi Kumar from Daspalla and made him the king of Khurda, left a portion of his army there, and returned to Cuttack.[48]

Taqi Khan had rivalry with his step-brother Sharfaraz Khan and conflict started between the two. Perhaps this enemity was for the succession to the Nizamat, after the death of Shujauddin. Both were aspirant for the throne. To settle this issue, Taqi Khan went to Bengal from Orissa. But open fighting between the brothers was stopped by the personal efforts of their father. After this Taqi Khan returned to Orissa.[49] Madla Panji has only mentioned that Taqi Khan went to Murshidabad in about June 1733.[50]

In the absence of Taqi Khan from Orissa, Ramachandra Deva coming from Bolagarh, captured Khurda in about 29 June 1733. His son Bhagirathi Kumar fled away to Cuttack with the Mughal army. Ramachandra Deva II brought back the images of Jagannath temple to Puri from Tikli and performed the Gundicha festival (Car festival) on 2 July 1733.[51] Hearing this Dasrath Khan, (Perhaps an officer of Taqi Khan who was in the charge of Cuttack in his absence) marched against Khurda. Therefore, once again the images of temple Jagannath were removed to Hariswar Mandap at Banpur. After this another Mughal officer Rasuna Khan (Rausan Khan ?) also came and occupied Khurda. So Ramachandra Deva II fled away along with the three images of Jagannath temple to Athagarh of Ganjam district.[52] Ramachandra Deva II was given shelter by Harichandan Jagdev, the king of Athagarh.[53] In the meantime, Taqi Khan returned back from Murshidabad and arrived at Khurda. His officers Dasarath Khan and Rausan Khan were sent to Murshidabad.[54] Taqi Khan established twenty-two thanas from Balianta to Banpur to repress the turbulent spirit of its rude inhabitants of Khurda.[55]

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According to a tradition of Orissa, in the meantime the Prime Min ster of Ramachandra Deva II, Paramlakshmi went to Cuttack and engaged himself in a political intrigue. He got the secret support of a large number of people of Cuttack. Specially, he got the support of Kurup Jena, the Khandaiyat Sardar of Jajpur's Panikoili village. With his help, the Prime Minister was able to get success in his plot.[56] Two young boys of Cuttack got the training from the Prime Minister in Persian language and Muslim way of life. Then they went to meet Taqi Khan in the Barabati fort to seek employment. Taqi was impressed and appointed them as his personal attendant. After sometime, Taqi Khan was found dead in the night. He was actually killed by those two young boys.[57] But the rumour was spreaded that he had been killed according to Muhammadan superstition by witchcraft.[58] Taqi Khan was buried in Qadam Rasul compound at Cuttack according to an inscription. According to this inscription, he died in 1147 Hijri (A.D. 1734). His tomb stone does not exist at present. Only the stone slab on which the inscription remains is found.[59] Madla Panji also corroborates this date.[60] Taqi Khan is vilified as the oppressor of Hindus in Madla Panji. But the above mentioned inscription describes him as a man of generosity. However, his tyrannical disposition towards Ramachandra Deva II, the king of Khurda, and his policy of persecution and extortion, created antagonistic attitude among the chiefs of Orissa.

After the death of Taqi Khan, Shujauddin, the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa appointed his son-in-law, Murshid Quli Khan II as Naib-Nazim of Orissa in 1734.[61] Madla Panji says Murshid Quli Khan II came to Orissa as Deputy-Governor in the 13th Anka year (which began from 5 September 1736)[62] of Ramachandra Deva II, the king of Khurda.[63] But this date is not correct. Mushid Quli received the title of Rustam Jang (the Hercules in battle) from the Emperor Mohammad Shah through the exertion of his father-in-law. He had liking for poetry and was fond of caligraphy. He was poetically surnamed as Makhmur. His previous experience in administration in Jahangirnagar—Dacca, helped him in the administration of Orissa.[64]

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Murshid Quli had a personal adherent named Mir Habib. He was a native of Shiraz in Persia and was one of the notable figures in the history of Bengal and Orissa of the eighteenth century. Emigrating to Hughli, he at first earned scanty living by hawking from house to house. Though an absolutely 'illiterate man, his ready wit, extreme suavity of speech and perfect command of the Persian language soon enable him to enter into the highest circle of society. The pedlar discarded his original profession and blossomed forth into the chief confident and deputy of Murshid Quli II. When Murshid Quli was appointed, Deputy Governor of Dacca, Mir Habib by his attention to details and strict economy effected large savings in the expenditure of the government flotilla, artillery and military departments. At the same time he enriched his master by unauthorised encroachment of private trade. He also subdued and conquered the old Hindu kingdom of Tipperah, whilst serving at Dacca as Diwan of Murshid Quli Khan II. Thus Mir Habib proved himself as a man of capacity, resourcefulness and energy for which he was raised to the peerage. He came with his old master in the same capacity to Cuttack, when the latter succeeded Md. Taqi Khan as Naib-Nazim of Orissa and vigorously administered the province. During Murshid Quli's governorship of Orissa, Habib as his agent (Naib) ran the entire administration and distinguished himself by ably managing the public business, keeping the zamindars under control, greatly increasing his mater's income.[65]

According to Madla Panji, after Murshid Quli Khan II came to Orissa as governor, his deputy Mir Habib came and occupied Khurda. The king fled away to Jharkhand.[66] But according to 'Kalijuga Purana', in this battle Mir Habib was defeated. Murad Khan, the commander-in-chief of Ramachandra Deva II, had fought bravely in this battle to kill the Mughal enemy.[67] Mir Habib must have been censured by his master for this kind of policy towards the king of Khurda. Because Madla Panji mentions the restoration of the idol of Jagannath in the temple of Puri by Mir Habib after this.

Within a short time of his appointment, Murshid Quli

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became very popular in Orissa. He established friendly relations with Ramachandra Deva. During the oppressive administration of Taqi Khan, Ramachandra Deva II had fled away in fear, across the Chilka lake along with the idol of Lord Jagannath. The absence of the idol from Puri prevented the inrush of visitors from outside. It is said, this deprived the government of a good amount of revenue amounting to nine lakhs of rupees a year collected from pilgrims.[68] As soon as Murshid Quli took charge of the subahdari of Orissa, he took steps to regain the confidence of the people. Therefore, Mir Habib was immediately directed to take steps for the restoration of the sacred idol in the temple of Puri. Thus the policy of Murshid Quli conciliated the people, and stopped a heavy source of financial loss to the government of Orissa. It has been mentioned in Riyaz-us-Salatin, that a Raja named Danda Deo is said to have brought back the idol of Jagannath to the Puri temple, after pacifying Murshid Quli II and Mir Habib.[69] This Danda Deo was the king of Banpur.[70] In Madla Panji, it is stated that though Mir Habib had restored Lord Jagannath, he enthroned Padmanava Deva, the king of Patia[71], in Khurda instead of Ramachandra Deva II. But this is not fully correct. Because it is evident from the four donation orders of Ramachandra Deva II granted to Rajguru Paramlakshmi Mohapatra, his Prime Minister that he had been restored to his throne of Khurda by Murshid Quli II.[72]

As a consequence, deep friendship was established between Murshid Quli II and Ramachandra Deva II. The architect of this friendship was Paramlakshmi, the Prime Minister of Ramachandra Deva II. The marriage of his daughter took place in about 1734-35. Due to the repeated request of Ramachandra Deva II, Murshid Quli and Mir Habib were invited to this ceremony. This system was never prevalent in the Brahman society and specially in the reign of Gajapati kings of Orissa, due to Hindu religious conservatism The Brahmins, therefore, became critical of the king and his Prime Minister instigated the people against them. At the root of this trouble were two persons, one Domodar Purohita of Biswanathpur and the other

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Jiban Dash of Puroshotamapur. Mirza Muhammad Sayed Baig, the Diwan of Ramachandra wanted to suppress the insurgents. Accordingly, the property of Damodar Purohita was confiscated. This is known from a sanad of Ramachandra Deva II written in both Persian and Oriya.[73]

After this, the friendship between Murshid Quli and Ramachandra Deva became deeper. Murshid Quli had a very beautiful daughter. A painting on handmade paper of those days has been discovered, on which it has been mentioned 'Soura', the daughter of Nawab Murshid Quli Khan.[74] But according to a manuscript of Madla Panji of Utkal university, Bhubaneswar (page 18), her name is stated to be Lijia or Razia. Ramachandra Deva II fell in love with her. Razia, who had also liking for Ramachandra, agreed to marry. Ramachandra expressed his earnest desire before his Prime Minister, who was also the head of the temple of Jagannath. After much reluctance, Paramlakshmi gave his consent for the marriage. The marriage took place secretly, according to the Hindu custom. But outwardly it was declared that Ramachandra Deva has accepted Islam with the name Hafiz Quader. Perhaps this precaution was taken to avoid trouble as the whole of India was then under the Muslim rule.[75] It has been mentioned in Siyar-ul-Motakherin that, 'One Hafiz Quadir, Raja of Ratipur Khurdah, was the superintendent of the temple of Jagarnath'.[76] But in spite of this, Ramachandra Deva remained a Hindu, which is known from his sanads, issued in his original name in the last part of his reign.[77] Ramachandra Deva expressed his desire to visit the temple of Jagannath with his new Muslim wife, in order to worship Lord Jagannath. But he was not allowed to perform the services of Jagannath and to enter the temple according to decision taken by the 'Mukti Mandap'[78] under the presidentship of his Prime Minister Paramlakshmi Rajguru. As Ramachandra Deva expressed his desire to worship, the idol of Pattitapaban Deb, a representative of Jagannath was set up at Singhaduar (the Lion gate of the Temple) so that the outcasted Raja might be able to see and worship it from outside.[79]

This fact has also been mentioned in the Madla Panji in the following manner :

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'During the reign of this king (Ramachandra Deva II), the Cuttack Subahdar Suja Khan with his army fought against the Raja and kept him as a prisoner at Cuttack. After sometime this Raja fell in love with the daughter of the Nawab. He lost his religion. Established relationship with the Muslims.'[80]

Here Madla Panji has wrongly mentioned that Ramachandra Deva was imprisoned at Cuttack by Shujauddin Khan, who was then the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Actually, Ramachandra had been imprisoned by Shujauddin's Deputy-Subahdar Taqi Khan. Then Madla Panji mentions that Ramchandra Deva fell in love with Nawab's daughter without mentioning the name of the Nawab. Therefore, some scholars[81] have assumed that Ramachandra Deva II had turned a Musalman on account of Taqi Khan and assumed the name of Hafiz Quadar. Then he was forced by Taqi Khan to marry a Muslim girl. But this asumption is not correct as it has been shown in the earlier pages. Besides, Madla Panji clearly says that after the event of Ramachandra's imprisonment passed out, he fell in love with Nawab's daughter. The Nawab was Murshid Quli II, who succeeded immediately after Taqi Khan. From the very beginning he had established friendly relationship with Ramachandra Deva II. Therefore, there was no question of compulsion and Ramachandra Deva, if at all became a Muslim due to his marriage with Razia, was according to his own consent.

Thus Ramachandra Deva with Razia, who had now been renamed Soura Suryamani Mahadei, stayed in the Rathipur palace. In the meantime Jiban Dash, the former rebel wanted to please Ramachandra, so that he will be excused for his past ills. He met Ramachandra secretly and instigated him to visit the temple of Jagannath for the worship of Lord Jagannath. Ramachandra, without consulting his Prime Minister, on the instigation of Jiban Dash, one day arrived at the gates of the temple with his Muslim queen. The Brahmins of the temple didn't prevent him as Ramachandra had been permitted to worship the idol of Patitapaban. But when they could know the real intention of the Raja, he was asked to wait till to arrival of the Rajguru (Prime Minister and head of the temple). Receiving

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this news Paramlakshimi Rajguru immediately rushed to the place. He requested the Raja to go back from the temple, as this was against the Hindu religion. By this time a huge crowd had assembled near the eastern gate of the temple and they were shouting in anger. Ramachandra Deva, kept the request of the Rajguru, and then he with his queen was secretly sent out of the temple through the western gate.

This incident enraged the public sentiment. But most of them held responsible Jiban Dash for this and demanded his surrender in their hands. Hearing this, Jiban Dash requested the king to take out his property by issuing a 'sanad' in the name of Paramlakshmi Rajguru. By this Jiban Dash wanted to save his life and property. Accordingly, a 'sanad' was issued by Ramachandra Deva and the property of Jiban Dash was surrendered to the state.[82] In spite of this, the trouble did not end. Gradually, the people became rebellious against Ramachandra Deva. Seeing all this, Ramachandra finally decided to abdicate the throne as he did not like to rule over his subject in such an unpleasant situation. His Muslim queen in the disguise of a male[83] also accompanied him. In a dark night of 1736, both of them left the kingdom and proceeded towards Narsinghpur[84] state which place had been choosen as the place of exile. Ramachandra Deva was welcomed by the king of Narasinghpur and all arrangement were made for his stay there. He remained in the village of Lakhyapada in a very simple manner, for one year ten months. As it became unbearable, finally Ramachandra Deva II and his Muslim queen committed suicide by taking poison. According to Madla Panji the death of Ramachandra Deva II occurred at Narasinghpur at about December, 1737 or January 1738.[85]

After the fall of Ramachandra Deva II, Miir Habib established Padmanav Deva, the king of Patia on the throne of Khurda. According to Madla Panji, Padmanav Deva had been enthroned on 3 May 1736.[86] During this period, Birakeshari Deva the real heir to the throne of Khurda had taken shelter in Ghumusar and Angul state.[87] While he was at Ghumusar, Ghana Bhanja, the king of that place had given him help to get back

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his paternal kingdom. Therefore, Birakishore Deva had given the title of 'Khatriyavara' to the king of Ghumusar.[88] With this military help, Birakishore Deva after crossing Nayagarh and Khandapada had entered the Angul state. Here also he received further military help from the king of Angul. From here while he was preparing to invade Khurda, he received 'Tika Siropa' from Murshid Quli II. In this connection, Madla Panji state that, 'At Ranibhoin, near the boundary of Angul in the Fourth Anka Rusave one day of Birakeshari Deva, Mukhras Ali Khan came from Nawab Musasta Kuli Khan, conferred on Birakishori Deva 'Tika Siropa' at Baidyasar of Baramba state and enthroned him on the Khurda kingdom. Patia Padmanava Deva fled away to Patia. This Padmanava Deva reigned for 3 years.'[89]

The fourth Anka of Birakeshari Deva had been calculated from 15 July 1738. The Rusava one of that Anka fell on 30 April 1739. Therefore, Padmanava Deva had occupied the throne of Khurda from 3 May 1736 to 30 April 1739.[90] That the Patia Raja had ruled uptill this period is also known from one deed of gift of Padmanava Deva. This had been issued on 9 March 1739.[91]

Musasta'Kuli Khan of Madla Panji was actually Murshid Quli Khan II and Mukhras Ali Khan[92] was one faithful servant of the Subahdar. While Birakishori Deva was arranging to attack Khurda, the wise and liberal subahdar of Orissa, Murshid Quli wanted to avoid all the troubles. Therefore, he restored Birakishori Deva, the rightful heir, on his ancestral throne.

The account of Madla Panji has also been corroborated by Kalijuga Purana. According to this version, there was unsettled condition in Orissa while Birakishori Deva was in exile. Birakishori Deva was a child. So the war preparations, in order to capture Khurda, was going on under the supervision of his Diwan Madhab Bhamrabar Rai and Bakshi Murad Khan. Madhab, according to the orders of Birakishori Deva, attacked Puri. He was imprisoned by Patia Raja Padmanava Deva. But he was saved by faujdar Chhota Nath and was taken to the

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Nawab Murshid Quli Khan. Murshid Quli gave him proper honour as he was the Diwan of the Gajapati king of Orissa. Murshid Quli asked him to call Birakishori Deva to rule his kingdom. But the Diwan replied that Murshid Quli might cheat like Taqi Khan. So Murshid Quli agreed to send the 'Tika Siropa' to whichever place the Diwan would suggest. Murshid Quli also became very angry upon Mir Habib for depriving Birakishori Deva from his rightful claim on Khurda. Accordingly, Diwan Madhab agreed and wrote to the king about all this. He also signed the agreement to pay revenue to Murshid Quli Khan.[94] This also has been mentioned in Madla Panji, according to which the Diwan paid eighteen lakhs of rupees to Murshid Quli towards the revenue and four years traveller's tax of Puri.[94a] Then Birakishori Deva came to Baramba and stayed in the village Sankhamari near Baidyaswar. Here the 'Tika Siropa' was conferred on him by the officer of Murshid Quli. After this Birakishori Deva marched towards his Kingdom in a procession accompanied by the Khandaiyats of Banki, Dhenkanal, Nayagarh, Ghumusur, Dasapalla, Khandapada, Narsinghpur, Ranpur, Banapur, Dampada, Baramba, Tigiria and Angul, the kings of which were his subordinates.[95]

After Birakishori Deva settled down on his throne in his seventh Anka (which be an from 23 August 1740), he sent one of his officers Brundaban Kumar Gurumohapatra to Murshid Quli. He met Murshid Quli at Cuttack inside the Lalbag palace. He gave Murshid Quli the revenue from the traveller's tax along with a letter of Birkishori Deva. Murshid Quli was very much pleased at this good will and friendly gesture.[96] As a result of this, good relationship was established between the two, as it was in the time of Ramachandra Dava II. Due to this friendship, Birakishori Deva hed helped Murshid Quli in his bad days latter on, while he fought against his enemy Alivardi Khan.

Murshid Quli Khan II was not destined to rule over Orissa for a long period. Shujauddin breathed his last on 13 March 1739 and his son Sarfaraz, entitled Ala-ud-daulah Haider Jang, peacefully ascended the Masnad of Bengal. But the new subahdar was personally incapable of holding the reins of government.

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Devoid of sound administrative genius he could not manage properly the affairs of the state.[97] His dissipation and weakness marred the efficiency of his administration, and also excited the amibition of those, who had been the ablest and most faithful officers during his father's administration, to usurp power at his cost. As a matter of fact, his government fell a victim to the disintegrating forces of ambition and treachery in course of a year and a month.[98] Viscissitudes of fortune in the Delhi Empire also afforded a fair opportunity to the ambitious officers of Bengal government to try to fulfilment of their designs. Both Alivardi and his brother Haji Ahmad realised that the time was a most opportune one for self-aggrandisement as their pretensions could not be checked by the sluggish Delhi Emperor, who had been rendered almost helpless after Nadir Shah's invasion.[99]

Thus Alivardi Khan left Patna towards the end of March 1740[100], and proceeded towards Murshidabad in order to capture the Masnad of Bengal. When the intension of Alivardi was known, Sarfaraz personally proceeded against him on Wednesday, the 9 April 1740. Sarfaraz decided to fight like a brave man and died a heroic death in the battlefield on 10 April 1740. Being victorious, Alivardi marched towards Murshidabad and established his rule.[102] After completing the necessary arrangements for the security of his position at Murshidabad, Alivardi thought it necessary to obtain a formal confirmation of his usurped authority over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the emperor Muhammad Shah. By payment of a large amount of money to the emperor, he was confirmed in the government of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.[103] The battle of Giria indeed made Alivardi the undisputed ruler of Bengal and Bihar. But Orissa, which formed a part of the Bengal subah, still remained beyond his control which was then under Murshid Quli Khan II. Therefore, Alivardi now concentrated his efforts for an expedition into Orissa with a view to wresting its gover ment from the relatives of the deceased Nawab.[104]

Thus the Bengal revolution of 1739-40 was a significant episode in the history of the province, and also of the Mughal

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empire, which was going through a more disastrous revolution at the same time. It shows how the political atmosphere of the time was utterly vitiated by the vices of inordinate ambition, treachery, and ingratitude. Alivardi's behaviour towards Sarfaraz, son of his benefactor to whom he was indebted for his early property, was highly abominable. A nemesis followed it when his favourite grandson, Siraj-ud-daulah, fell a victim to the same forces that had been used by him to overthrow Sarafarz. It might be very well said that the battle of Plassey was the reply of historical justice to the battle of Giria.[105]

Part II

Alivardi Khan and the decline of Muslim rule in Orissa

The earlier name of Alivardi Khan was Mirza Bande[1] or Mirza Muhammed Ali.[2] His mother belonged to the Turki tribe of Afshar belonging to Khorasan and was thus related to Shujauddin Muhammad Khan, the Deputy Governor of Orissa in his time.[3] Like Nawab Murshid Quli Khan and his son-in-law Shujauddin Muhammad Khan, Nawab Alivardi Khan also practically began his political career in Orissa which may be said to have been a stepping stone in his rise to the Deputy Governorship of Bihar, and ultimately to the subahdari of the richest north-eastern provinces of the Mughal Empire.

Alivardi Khan's father Mirza Muhammad was at first employed as a Cup-bearer[4] of Azam Shah, second son of Aurangzeb. Mirza Muhammad had two sons, the eldest named Ahmad and the youngest named Mirza Muhammad Ali. Due to the influence of their parents both the brothers had easy and frequent access into the imperial place during their boyhood.[5] As the two brothers attained the adult age, Azam Shah placed Mirza Ahmad in charge of the pantry at Delhi. Mirza Muhammad Ali was likewise appointed superintendent of the elephant stables and was also kept in charge of the department of embroidered clothes[6]. But Azam Shah, their patron died in June 1707 in course of the battle fought against

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Bahadur Shah at Jajan near Agra. As a consequence they lost their employments and suffered great troubles.[7] Being thus reduced to straits, Alivardi's father Mirza Muhammad with his wife went to the court of Shujauddin Muhammad Khan at Cuttack in the hope of getting help and favour from the latter as he was related to his wife. Shujauddin received him kindly and admitted him into his service.[8] Of the two sons of the latter, the elder, Mirza Ahmad, had gone on a pilgrimage to Macca[9], while the younger, Mirza Muhammad Ali alias Alivardi Khan, was leading a life of retirement at Delhi.[10]

In response to a call from his father, who had found a hospitable shelter at Cuttack, Mirza Muhammad Ali decided to try his luck in Orissa Subah. All accounts agree that when his father secured the permission of Nawab Shujauddin to summon his second son to Orissa, he was in a state of great penury and privation and had often to go without food.[11] In 1720 Alivardi proceeded to Orissa[12], with his wife and daughters. He had to sell his wife's ornaments for Rs. 900/- out of this money, he purchased a house for himself for Rs. 300/- and the remainder covered the cost of litters for his wife and daughters and other expenses of the journey.[13] Accompanied by them and two other persons, Farkullah Baig and Nurullah Baig, who had been brought up in his house, Mirza Muhammad Ali arrived in Orissa in 1721. The Mirza was well received by Nawab Shujauddin, who gave him immediately a job carrying a monthly salary of rupees one hundred.[14] Shujauddin soon found him to be possessed of excellent qualities and sound judgement and, therefore, entrusted him with various other duties[15]. Shujauddin first directed him to supervise the work of certain officials of the exchequer.[16] When the works entrusted into his hands were all performed with consummate ability he was appointed supervisor (chief-Foujdar) over the faujdars of Orissa.[17] During this period three refractory zamindars of Orissa, such as the Rajas of Keonjhar, Angul and Dhenkanal had raised the standard of rebellion against the government of Shujauddin. Shujauddin sent Mirza Muhammad Ali along with some of his choicest companions and a contingent from his own army in

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order that the mischiefs of those seditionists might be put down. The Mirza showed great valour and interpidity and after suppressing the refractory chiefs, returned victorious. Thus he rendered his master a substantial help by reducing to submission these rebellious zamindars and by effecting satisfactory arrangements for the administration of the villages belonging to them. As a reward for this services, Shujauddin increased his rank and position.[18]

Karam Ali[19] furnished fuller details and much more interesting information concerning this affair. We learn that after a few days, the Mirzra's wisdom and sagacity had become so well known that he was granted a conditional jagir of 600 and the title of Muhammad Alivardi Khan. Then he was sent to regulate the affairs of the thana of Swantrapur[20] as Thanadar. This thana we are told, was situated amidst hills and forests and on the frontiers of the Rajas Keonjhar[21], Atkhar[22] and Dhenkanal[23] all of whom were in a state of defiance and rebellious against the subahdar of the province. It did not require much effort on the part of Alivardi to take possession of the thana of Swantrapur. As for the three rebellious Rajas, it was not so much by means of force as by his power of persuasion and conciliatory conduct that he brought about their submission.

Alivardi's success in Orissa encouraged him to invite his brother Mirza Ahmad, then living in Delhi, to come to Orissa with the other members of his family[24]. Haji Ahmed proceeded to Orissa, accompanied by his mother, daughters and three sons[25] and arrived in the court of Nawab Shujauddin in 1721[26]. Haji Ahmad refused to accept any office and chose to remain a constant companion (courtier) of Nawab Shujauddin. But he used his influence so as to secure suitable jobs for his sons and promote the affairs of his brothers[27]. Historian Orme mentions that both the brothers came to Orissa with strong recommendations from Delhi which made some effect on Shujauddin's mind[28].

In the meantime the strength of the arms of Alivardi and his practical wisdom enabled him to free the country from the wickedness of the rebellious and the seditious people, some of

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whom had to be put to the sword. Muzaffarnamah specifically mentions the valiant deeds and manly exertions he showed in the battle of Khalikot[80] and the thana of Malud[80] which resulted in the virtual reduction of the whole of this part of the country. Thereafter, Shujauddin ordered Alivardi to fight against the Raja of Kujang, 'which was a fort situated in the midst of several brooks and rivulets'. The place appears to have been strongly fortified. Because it was not before a close siege for three full years that it could be taken. Perhaps there was more than one reason for the delay in the reduction of the fort. Because 'Muzaffarnamah' which also mentions this event, throws some interesting light on the relation, at this stage, between the two brothers and their kinsman patron, the Nawab of Orissa[81]. The latter, felt very vexed and annoyed at the behaviour of Alivardi's brother, especially because of the protracted affairs of the fort of Kujang, a fact which made Alivardi hasten to Cuttack and persuade the Nawab, after a good deal of discussions, to proceed with him near the fort. After they had arrived there, Alivardi wisely and advisedly sent words to the besieged Raja of Kujang[82] that if he voluntarily surrendered the fort and offered his allegiance, general pardon would be given. This was accepted by the Raja and having come out of the fort, he paid his respects to Alivardi who presented him before Nawab Shujauddin. Apparently he was favourably received and he went back happy to his place. Thus when the fort was captured and 'the Zamindar was bound by the claws of fate', Nawab Shujauddin showered greater favours on Alivardi and directed him to continue his stay for sometime more in that very region[83].

Being gifted with perseverence, tact and prudence, the two brothers thus proved to be helpful agents in the administration of Shujauddin[84]. Due to their initiative the department of finance was effectively reformed and the revenue-collections of Orissa were increased to a degree[85]. In short, their industry, untiring efforts and devoted services contributed largely towards making the government of their master 'popular, respcetable and beneficial to the empire'[86]. Orissa thus served as the practising

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ground in administrative affair for Mirza Muhammad Ali, the future Subahdar of Bengal[37]. Within a short time, both the brothers became the chief confident and advisor of Suhjauddin and exercised great influence on him[38].

Besides their satisfactory work in Orissa, the two brothers helped Shujauddin considerably in securing the 'Masnad' of Bengal after the death of Murshid Quli Jafar Khan which has already been described in the previous chapter. It is certain that Alivardi remained in charge of the Kujang area of Orissa till 1727 when, on the death of Murshid Quli Khan I, Nawab Shujauddin hurriedly left Orissa in charge of Taqi Khan, and hastened to Bengal, accompanied by Haji Ahmad and his father Shah Quli Khan. Muzaffarnamah states that Alivardi could not come out of the district of Kujang to accompany the Nawab, owing to the excessive mud and clay produced by a rather heavy rainfall. It was after the rainy season was over and Nawab Shujauddin had already ascended the Masnad of Bengal, Alivardi proceeded to Bengal[39] At first, he was appointed leader of a convey which was ordered to take the royal treasure and the confiscated wealth of Murshid Quli Jafar Khan from the frontiers of Bengal to those of Azimabad (Bihar). On his return in 1728 to the court, he was favoured with the Foujdari of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal).[40] The people of Rajmahal enjoyed peace and prosperity under the efficient administration of Alivardi[41] Subsequently he was appointed Deputy Governor of Bihar in 1733[42] Alivardi's vigorous administration of Bihar marked a turning point in his career, because it provided him with means both to conserve Shuja-uddin's goodwill and esteem and to strengthen his own position.[43]

Shujauddin died in 1739 and his son Sharfaraz, succeeded to the Masnad of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But in the battle of Giria (10 April 1740), Sarfaraz was defeated and killed by Alivardi Khan as discussed in the earlier chapter. The battle of Giria made Alivardi the undisputed ruler of Bengal and Bihar but Orissa still remained beyond his control which was in charge of Murshid Quli Khan II. Therefore, after establishing his

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authority firmly, he diverted his efforts for the submission of Orissa. He seriously thought of the disposession of Murshid Quli Khan from the Government of Orissa because the latter was a relative of Sarfaraz. Secondly, Murshid Quli Khan had sent an army under the command of Mir Habib to join the battle of Giria against Alivardi Khan in response to the call of Sarfaraz, although the force did not take part in the battle due to some obscure reasons. It is stated in Riyaz-us-Salatin that Mir Habib stood aloof at a distance during the battle and marched away in silence after the death of Sharfaraz.[44] Therefore, Alivardi suspected the loyalty and obedience of Murshid Quli Khan and thought he was not worthy of trust. Soon after his occupation on the throne of Bengal, Alivardi declared Sayeed Ahmad Khan, one of the sons of Haji Ahmad, to be designate Naib Nazim of Orissa. Every arrangement was made for an expedition against Murshid Quli Khan.[45]

Murshid Quli Khan II, at first exchanged negotiations with Alivardi for a compromise.[46] Gulam Husain says that Murshid Quli sent one Agha Muhammad Taqi of Surat as ambassador to Alivardi.[47] But the Riyaz mentions one Mukhlis Ali Khan, a son-in-law of Haji Ahmad, and paymaster of Rustam Jang's army, as ambassador.[48] Instead of negotiating for an amicable settlement, Mukhlis Ali was sent back as the agent of Alivardi to seduce the troops of Murshid Quli II.[49] Mukhlis Ali was successful in his attempt of treachery and sent messages to Murshidabad all about this. But Murshid Quli II was soon goaded by his son-in-law Mirza Baqir Khan and also by his own wife Dardanah Begum, to avenge the death of Sharfaraz by holding out against Alivardi.[50] So Murshid Quli refused to recognise the usurper's authority and started making necessary preparations to oppose Alivardi Khan. As a result, the negotiation of peace failed. Alivardi informed Murshid Quli that his stay in Orissa was impossible But he was assured that if he retired from the Government voluntarily, his person with his family, property and other belongings woud go undisturbed, unmolested and uninjured.[51]

In the meanwhile, Alivardi got himself fully equipped with

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all the requisites for an expedition into Orissa and marched with his troops. The news caused horror in the court of Cuttack.[52] Immediately Murshid Quli summoned an assembly of his generals and soldiers for consultation. He encouraged them in a stirring speech to espouse the just cause by fighting against Alivardi, who had proved so treacherous to his master Sharfaraz. He appealed them in the following manner : 'My cause being as just as my case is critical, there remains nothing for me now but to ascertain your minds regarding this iniquitous contest. If you are for standing by me, let us set out and fight together, but if you are disposed otherwise, then, for God's sake, explain yourselves early and in time, so that I may act accordingly and provide timely for my safety'.[53] This produced the desired effect on the minds of his troops. Abed Ali Khan, his commander-in-chief informed him, on behalf of all present in the assembly, that he could rely on their fidelity in his intended fight against Alivardi.[54] But the above statement of Murshid Quli breaths an air of difference and defeatism. It appears that he suspected disruption and treachery of some army officers. Although they swore fidelity to the cause of Murshid Quli, yet during actual fights turned to be traitors [55]

Murshid Quli Khan left his wife Durdanah Begum and his son Yahya Khan with all his treasure in the Barabati fort. Then he marched out of Cuttack in December 1740 with his two sons-in-law, Mirza Baqar Khan and Allauddin Muhammad Khan, at the head of a strong army[56]. Passing through Balasore and after crossing the Burahabalang river, he encamped in the plain of Phulwari[57]. It was naturally defended by dense forests and rivulets with steep banks on all sides[58]. Thus this occupied a very strategically formidable position to defy the challenge of the enemy. To make his position more formidable and impregnable against enemy's attack, he formed a ring of 300 canon round his camp[59] and raised entrenchments at its weak parts[60].

On hearing of Murshid Quli's advance, Alivardi started from Murshidabad in January 1741, with his nephew Sayeed Ahmad (surnamed Maham-ud-daulah Saulat Jang)[61] at the head of ten or twelve thousand cavalry, leaving Haji Ahmad and Nawazish

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Muhammad in charge of the government of Bengal[62]. Ghulam Husain Salim puts the strength of Alivardi's army at more than one lakh cavalry and infantry[63]. According to Madla Panji, Alivardi marched towards Orissa from Murshidabad with 500 elephants, 4000 cavalry and one lakh infantry[64].

By forced marches Alivardi reached Medinipur. On the arrival at Medinipur, he won over some local zamindars of the place to his side through various presents and rewards. Then he proceeded towards Jalasore. But to cross the river Subarnarekha, which flows due west of Jalasore proved to be a difficult task Because the Raja of Mayurbhanj guarded the ferry of Rajghat and opposed Alivardi's advance. Alivardi, however, quickly overcame this opposition by opening fire on the troops of the Raja of Mayurbhanj on which they fled-away. Then Alivardi crossed the river and encamped at Ramachandrapur, situated at a distance of three miles from Phulwari[65]. When he came nearer to Murshid Quli's camp, his advance was again checked at the formidable fortification and the stiff entrenchment of the enemy[66]. Moreover, supplies from the zamindars of Medinipur and its neighbouring place failed to reach his camp as expected[67]. The little, that could be sent by them, was also intercepted on the way by the zamindars of Oris a out of their sympathy and love for Murshid Quli Khan.[68] Again, the rainy season was approaching which might add to his difficulties. In the meantime, the Maratha freebooters raided his camp[69]. For all these reasons, Alivardi was placed in a very critical situation. Therefore, Alivardi was inclined to come to terms with Murshid Quli Khan. But his commander, Mustafa Khan, objected to the proposal of peace and gave him an encouraging advice. He suggested to throw up new entrenchments during the rainy season and to re attempt the subjugation of Orissa after its expiry[70]. Ultimately his persuasion changed the mind of Alivardi to be prepared for fight against Murshid Quli.

But the fight came off soon due to the impetuosity of Mirza Baqar Khan, son-in-law of Murshid Quli. Alivardi Khan wanted to entice Murshid Quli away from the strategic position in order to bring him to an engagement. Abed Khan and some

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other conspirators in Murshid Quli's army instigated Baqar Khan, all the while, to come out of the entrenchments and charge the enemy's front. But Murshid Quli who was an experienced person, gave stress on unity of action, coherence in the army and singleness of the command. He warned Mirza Baqar to be steady and cautious on his move. But Mirza Baqar became impatient of inaction. He suddenly sailed out of his camp with his army composed of Sayyids of Barah and attacked Alivardi's troops. By this he took himself away from the array of artillery posted on the entrenchments. Alivardi's troops took fullest advantage of the situation and quickly marched forward to meet his enemy[71]. As a consequence a bloody battle ensued in the plain of Phulwari on the 3 March 1741[72]. On the first attack Alivardi seized the whole of Murshid Quli's artillery, which had been left rather unguarded. Murshid Quli was obliged to come out in order to support his son-in-law. But in spite of this heavy loss Murshid Quli, Baqar Khan and his Barha soldiers fought vigorously and bravely. Even some of the Bengal soldiers left the field in desperation, leaving their master on the verge of defeat and disgrace[73]. For sometime Alivardi's position appeared to be difficult. Even the elephants, on which Alivardi and his Begum were seated, were chased to a distance of about two miles from the battlefield. Finding Alivardi on the verge of distress, Manikchand, Peshkar of the Raja of Burdwan, who had come to fight on behalf of him now secretly offered himself to join the party of Murshid Quli with his troops from considerations of his personal safety. But Mirza Baqar suspected his sincerity and opposed his proposal.[74]

When Murshid Quli was in a better position in the battlefield, some traitors and consipirators were active in his camp. Abed Khan was the principal conspirator who had spoken in firmness in the war council of Murshid Quli, summoned at the beginning. He entered into a bargain with Mustafa Khan, the commander of the enemy. Thus pretending to launch an attack on the enemy, he wih his soldiers went nearer and changed side This was followed by the betrayal of a few more aomy officers like Mukhlis Ali Khan, Muqarrab Khan, and few other Afghan generals.[75]

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Not frightened by these defections, Mirza Baqar launched a quick and forceful attack on the left-wing of Alivardi's army, which was commanded by veteran generals like Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan and Qasim Ali Khan.[76] This sudden attack first produced great disorder and confusion among the Bengal army. But Jafar Khan soon presented a gallant opposition and at once attacked the troops of Baqar Khan and came to the rescue of Alivardi's vanquished general like Musaheb Khan, Dilir Khan and Aslat Khan.[77] This inspired the soldiers of Alivardi to a large extent. They attacked their enemy troops with new vigour and courage. Then followed a bloody and decisive battle. The course of the battle was soon turned against Murshid Quli. His brave and faithful generals, like Mujtaba Ali, Mir Ali Akbar and Mir Abdul Aziz with 300 Sayyid soldier fell on the ground. Mirza Baqar was seriously wounded on different parts of the body. He was unable to walk and carried out of the battlefield in a palanquin to a place of safety. The army got terrified and gave up the contest. Thus the battle of Phulwari was lost to Murshid Quli, who had no other alternative left to him than to retreat from the field for his personal safety.[78]

Murshid Quli had wisely taken precautions in regard to what course he would follow in case of defeat in the hands of the enemy.[79] He had a merchant friend whose name was Haji Mohsin. Both of them being the natives of Surat were intimate to each other. Haji Mohsin had then come to the coast of Balasore probably on a commercial business. Owing to his sympathy for his friend Murshid Quli, Haji Mohsin not only detained the ship till the battle was over but also fought in the battle of Phulwari on behalf of Murshid Quli.[80]

Murshid Quli after his defeat retreated from the battlefield on his elephant, followed by his wounded son-in-law in a palanquin. He and his merchant friend Haji Mohsin with about 3000 soldiers who had still remained faithful, proceeded towards the port of Balasore. Perhaps from his sad experience of treachery of some of his generals in the immediate past[81], he disuaded his soldiers not to go beyond the town of Balasore and hurried to the sea-shore. He selected his trusted

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people and with them he marched to the river mouth, at a distance from which a ship filled with goods and grains was standing on the sea-shore. Haji Mohsin gave a signal with his finger, the ship unfurled its sail, sent a boat ashore to receive Haji Mohsin with his friend Murshid Quli. Murshid Quli got into the boat with his son-in-law and a few necessary servants and within six days reached Masulipatam.[82]

After the departure of Rustam Jang, Alivardi deputed Khairullah Beg and others to capture his wife Durdanah Begum and his son Yahya Khan, who had been left in the fort of Barabati.[83] But the timely aid of the Raja of Khurda and a sincere friend of Murshid Quli, saved them from that disgrace, though a portion of their wealth fell into the hands of Alivardi's generals. On hearing of Murshid Quli's defeat and retreat, the Raja of Khurda, who was noted for his generous and hospitable nature to help others in distress, deputed out of his own accord his general Murad Khan to help to family of Murshid Quli. He ordered Murad Khan to march quickly to Cattack at the head of a strong escort with a number of carriages to bring his friend Murshid Quli's family and property out of the city. Acting just in the nick of time, Murad succeeded in bringing the family of Murshid Quli and a portion of his wealth deposited in the fort of Barabati under his protection. The family under his protection was led to Ichhapuram in the Ganjam district as quickly as possible. Anwaruddin Khan, Governor of Ichhapuram, who was also an old acquaintance of Murshid Quli accorded a cordial reception to the distressed family of his friend.[84] After arriving at Masulipatam, Murshid Quli sent his son-in-law Baqar to Ganjam to find out what happened to his abandoned family.[85] Baqar Khan went to Ichhapuram and took them to Murshid Quli, in Deccan.[86] Thus by a strange irony of fate the Deputy Governor of Orissa, driven out of his own province[87], had to seek shelter in a destitute condition with his wife and son-in-law, in the dominions of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk.[88] At last he died there peacefully and in good circumstances.[89] In short, Murshid Quli Khan II was a sincere and capable, lovable

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and popular Governor who took interest in the administration of the country. He knew the art of winning the good will of his subjects. He never allowed obstinacy to master his mind nor he was too much ambitious for power like Alivardi.[90]

There is a controversy about the identification of the Raja of Khurda who helped the abandoned family of Murshid Quli. The persian historians[91] have not mentioned the name of the king. But some scholars[92] have identified the king with Ramachandra Deva II. But this is not correct because Ramachandra Deva had died four years before. Therefore, the Raja can be safely identified with Birakeshari Deva who was the reigning king of Khurda in 1741 and who had established friendship with Murshid Quli khan II. This identification is also being supported by Madla Panji. According to Madla Panji in the 18th Anka year (A.D. 1741) of Birakeshari Deva, Alivardi came from Murshidabad with an army of 500 elephants, 4000 cavalry and one lakh infantry. One of the officers of Birakeshari Deva met Alivardi at Rathipur. Alivardi gave his recognition to the king and then returned to Murshidabad.[93]

This incident has also been mentioned by Ghulam Husain Salim. After his victory in the battle of Phulwari, Alivardi hurriedly advanced to Cuttack and seized two lakhs of rupees in cash and precious articles of the same value belonging to Murshid Quli.[94] He stayed in Orissa for about a month with a view to establish his authority there.[95] His experience of the local affairs gained during his early days (during the Deputy Governorship of Shujauddin), and his previous acquaintance with the local zamindars, now stood him in good stead.[96] He appointed his son-in-law and nephew Sayeed Ahmad (Saulat Jang) in charge of the government of Orissa. He also left there Gujar Khan, one of his trusted officers and veteran generals, in command of a contingent of three thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry.[97] Alivardi then turned his attention on the administrative affairs of Orissa. In course of one month, having finished the organisation and settlement of the subah of Orissa, he returned triumphant to Bengal.[98]

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The appointment of Saulat Jang as Deputy Governor of Orissa was a bad choice on the part of Alivardi.[99] Therefore, his arrangement resulted in immediate disaster. Lacking in morals, tact, and intelligence, Saulat Jang was unfit for governing a newly conquered area. His licentioness and extreme greed for money, gave rise to a widespread discontent against his government. The people of Orissa rich and poor alike thoroughly disgusted with him. Further, in order to reduce military expenditure, he reduced the pay of his soldiers. Thus he foolishly alienated his Bengal soldiers on whose loyalty and service he could naturally rely. This unsound economy caused their dissatisfaction and led to their defection from the Orissa military service.[100] At the same time he took a suicidal step by admitting into his military service a number of generals who had served under Murshid Quli II and even then they had in their inner heart sincere attachment to him and his son-in-law.[101] Lastly, a faqir called Shah Yahya, a close friend of Saulat Jang in Delhi, arrived at Cuttack and became his chief adviser. Saulat Jang became a puppet in the hands of this pseudo-saint Shah Yahya who started a reign of terror at Cuttack. On the plea of hoarding wealth, noblemen and their pretty women were disgraced, tortured and dishonoured by this 'Rasputin' of Orissa. Shah Yahya became practically the ruler of Orissa and Saulat Jang very soon became the most hated man in the whole province. His enormous tyranny caused a rebellion in the country.[102] The unpopularity and the inefficiency of Saulat Jang encouraged the former generals of Murshid Quli II to invite Mirza Baqar, who also had been so long watching the course of events in Orissa from her south-eastern frontier, to enter into the province.[103] As a consequence the only faithful troops remaining under Saulat Jang were three hundred men under Gujar Khan. One day the people of Cuttack rose against Saulat Jang under Murad Khan, the general of Birakeshari Deva. Both Gujar Khan and Shah Yahya were killed by them in broad daylight.[104] In utter confusion, Saulat Jang sent Qasim Beg, Superintendent of his artillery, and Sheikh Hediatullah, faujdar of Cuttack, to make another attempt

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to placate the insurgents.[105] But finding those two generals unescorted, the rebels killed Qasim Beg, while Hediatullah ran away with his life after receiving several wounds.[106] Saulat Jang with his entire family was captured[107] and his treasures were plundered.[108] Mirza Baqar entered Cuttack in triumph in the month of August, 1741[109] and restored his authority.[110] Saulat Jang was put under strict confinement in the palace of Lalbagh and his wife, children and other relatives were sent as prisoners into the fort of Barabati.[111] Mirza Baqar wanted to do away with Saulat Jang, but was prevented by his wife from committing this vile act.[112] After this Baqar Khan's army occupied the area as far as Midnapur and Hijli.[113]

There are two graves situated just in front of the eastern gate of the Jama Masjid at Balu Bazar in the city of Cuttack. The Muslims, particularly men of that locality believe traditionally that the smaller grave is that of a saint 'Ayya Shah'. Most probably this 'Ayya Shah' is a perversion of 'Shah Yahya', the notorious pseudo-saint and the grave is his. Similarly a village called Gujarpur six miles from Cuttack in the Salipur P.S. in the Kendrapara subdivision is named after the notorious general Gujar Khan.[114]

The misfortunes of Saulat Jang caused grave uneasiness in the mind of Alivardi. The imprisonment of his nephew with his whole family was indeed a great calamity for him. At the same time, the daring return of Mirza Baqar into Orissa, and his seizure of its government, meant a severe blow to his prestige and authority[115]. His anxiety was all more enhanced by his belief that Mirza Baqar had been able to effect the revolution of Orissa at the instigation of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk[116]. Being rather perplexed, he consulted his principal officers and relatives as to the means of effecting the rescue of Saulat Jang and re-occupying Orissa[117]. Haji Ahmad and his wife (Saulat Jang's mother), out of anxiety for their son's safety, requested Alivardi to purchase his release by permitting Mirza Baqar to enjoy the government of Orissa[118]. But he could not agree to this humiliating proposal, which, he rightly argued, would affect his prestige and shake the foundation of his government[119]. Mustafa

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Khan, his commander-in-chief also encouraged him to chastise Mirza Baqar in an open encounter.[180] So he made up his mind to march into Orissa to vindicate his prestige and re-establish his authority. To ensure success in the intended expedition, he tried his level best to raise an efficient army and to gather sufficient provisions.[181]

Thus leaving his nephew Shahamat Jang, as his deputy at Murshidabad, Alivardi marched towards Cuttack at the head of 20,000 cavalry and with a strong artillery[182]. By forced marches he reached the northern bank of the river Mahanadi, opposite of Cuttack[183], with his army. Mirza Baqar had encamped at Riapur[184], on the southern bank of that river.[185] Baqar Khan had keept his bag and baggage at a distance of about 7 or 8 miles from the place of his encampment[186]. Saulat Jang also had been left there within a four-wheeled carriage under the guard of Haji Ahmad Amin, brother of Murshid Quli. He had been instructed by Mirza Baqar to do away with Saulat Jang when any one of Alivardi's party would come to his rescue[187].

Crossing the river Mahanadi at Jobra ghat[188] one chilly winter dawn, Alivardi advanced near the camp of Mirza Baqar. The very sight of his huge army struck terror into the hearts of Mirza Baqar's soliders. They fled away in various directions after a short skirmish and Mirza Baqar was defeated.[189] Mirza Baqar fled away with his Maratha allies to the Deccan,[190] early in December, 1741[191]. He was able to baffle the pursuit of some Afghan soldiers of Alivardi through the help of his old friend Shah Murad Khan, commander-in-chief of the Raja of Khurdah.[192]

The rescue of Saulat Jang next engaged Alivardi's attention. He commissioned his prominent generals under the command of Mir Jafar Khan to the task.[193] When they were about to reach the desired spot[194] after crossing the river Katjuri[195], Mir Muhammad Amin Khan (a step-brother of Alivardi and brother-in-law of Mir Jafar Khan), left their company along with Asalat Khan, Dilir Khan, and seven other soldiers. They advanced daringly close to the carriage that carried Saulat Jang.[196] Mirza Baqar's guards over Saulat Jang then thrust

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their speares through the coach, which, instead of injuring him, killed one of the Turanians, who had been placed within the coach, and wounded the other.[187] The generals of Alivardi Khan then moved the curtain of coach and brought Saulat Jang out of it. They were indulging in jubiliations for the miraculous escape of Saulat Jang, when Haji Muhammad Amin, somehow or other, got out of the coach, and quickly left the spot by mounting on Mir Muhammad Amin's horse without his knowledge.[188] Saulat Jang was taken before Alivardi, whose joy at his rescue knew on bounds, and who offered thanks to God by prostrating himself on the ground.[189] He embraced his nephew warmly and presented him a costly dress. Then he sent a number of carts under strong guards to bring Saulat Jang's family from the fort of Barabati. Among the soldiers posted at Barabati by Mirza Baqar, some tried to prevent the release of the prisoners. But the others opposed them in anticipation of favours at hands of the victors. Thus the members of Saulat Jang's family were rescued and safely conducted before Alivardi.[140] After a few days, Alivardi sent away Saulat Jang to Murshidabad and also a part of his army, retaining with himself only 5,000 cavalry and some of his choicest officers.[141] He punished the friends of Mirza Baqar and seized all their branded horses.[142]

Having thus recovered Cuttack, Alivardi stayed there for about three months, restoring order and making necessary changes in the administration of Orissa.[143] After appointing Mukhlis Ali Khan as his Deputy in Orissa, he started for Bengal.[144] But on reaching Bhadrak he changed his mind according to the advice of Mustafa Khan and dismissed Mukhlis Ali Khan. In his place, Alivardi appointed Shaikh Masum Panipati, one of his brave generals and intimate friends to govern Orissa.[145] Durlabhram, son of Janakiram, was now appointed Peshkar of the Deputy Governor of Orissa.[146]

On arriving at Balasore, Alivardi thought it necessary to chastise Raja of Mayurbhanj, who had allied himself with Mirza Baqar in the recent war and had not yet submitted to his authority.[147] The Raja was indulging in pleasures in his

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palace at Hariharpur.[148] During this time a detachment of Alivardi's army ravaged his territory and soon reduced it to submission, thousands of men and women being made prisoners.[149] Thus having subdued the territory of Mayurbhanj, Alivardi resumed his march towards Bengal.[150]

By the end of the year 1741, Alivardi subdued all his enemies, and established his absolute authority throughout the length and breadth of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But destiny allowed no respite to the old man. Even before he returned to his capital after expelling Mirza Baqar, his most inveterate foe, from Orissa to the Deccan, there appeared from the same quarter a dreadful scourge for him in the shape of the Maratha invasions, which kept him restless for the greater part of his rule.[151]

Raghuji Bhonsle, the independent Maratha Chief of Nagpur took the lead in this direction. His ambition of establishing his surpremacy at Satara having been frustrated by the superior diplomacy of Baji Rao who had tremendous influence over his master Shahu, Raghuji sought an out let for political expansion in the north east of his dominion. The prevailing political incertainties in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa offered Raghuji an opportunity for the satisfaction of his political desire.[152] Secondly, it might be possible that Raghuji was instigated in his design by Nizam-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad who was always in fear of Maratha raids. Thereby Nizam-ul-Mulk could divert the attention of the Marathas from his own dominion in the south to the north-east.[153] Lastly, the relatives and partisan of the deceased Nawab Sarfaraz, who had been driven into the Deccan wanted take revenge upon Alivardi. So they extended an invitation to Raghuji to invade the dominion of Alivardi.[154] The Riyaz clearly states that Mir Habib had gone to invite the Marathas after the defeat of Murshid Quli II in the battle of Phulwari.[155] But according to Siyar, Mir Habib was captured by the Marathas while fighting was going on with Alivardi near Katwah. Mir Habib henceforth turnd out to be the devoted friend of the Marathas and helped them in various ways.[156]

Raghuji Bhonsle had entrusted his Prime Minister, Bhaskar Ram to the task of invading Bengal and collectitig 'Chauth' from

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the province.[157] Bhaskar marched through Orissa unopposed and arrived in Cuttack. The fort of Barabati was captured on 19.4.1742.[159] Shaikh Masum Khan, Deputy Governor of Orissa fled towards the mountains leaving the country defenceless.[160] After this Bhaskar moved towards Panchat and fell upon the Midnapur district. The territory from Midnapur, Burdwan as far as Balasore was plundered and fell into his possession. Maratha detachments were busy in plundering countries as far as the river Ganges towards Murshidabad all through the rainy season.[161]

On his way back from Orissa, Alivardi got the report of Maratha invasion. He did not at first give much importance to it and continued his return journey to Murshidabad in a leisurely manner. But he was soon disillussioned when he knew that the Marathas were about to capture Burdwan. He could not afford to ignore the report any longer. Then Alivardi made a great haste and fell upon them at Burdwan.[162]

Soon after the rainy season the Marathas were defeated in an engagement near Katwah[163], by Alivardi. From here the Marathas returned towards Orissa. Meanwhile, Masum Khan had gathered strength and had encamped at Hariharpur near Cuttack to oppose Marathas.[164] The Maratas attacked him and he was killed. Thus Cuttack together with fort of Barabati feel into Maratha possession.[165]

On hearing the death news of Masum, Alivardi marched with his army, towards Orissa. At this Bhaskar was frightened. So he fled towards Balasore. But soon he turned his back and had a fight with Alivardi, at a distance of about four miles from Medinipur.[166] In this battle Bhaskar was defeated and lost a large number of soldiers. This disheartened the Marathas who immediately turned their back. Hotly pursued by Alivardi's army Bhaskar with his men ran into Deccan by crossing Chilka on the southern boundry of Orissa in the month of December, 1742.[167]

Alivardi stayed at Cuttack for about two months for the purpose of restoring his authority. He appointed Abdul Nabi Khan, uncle of Mustafa Khan, Deputy Governor of Orissa, with

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Durlabhram as his Peshkar.[168] or agent. Then he returned to Mushidabad.

Thus the first Maratha invasion resulted in Bhaskar's disastrous defeat and retreat to the Deccan in December, 1742. But The Maratha danger did not end here. The Marathas carried on almost annual incursions in the provinces of Orissa and Bengal since 1742 which ultimately ceased the conclusion of a treaty with Nawab Alivardi Khan in 1751.[169]

Repeated campaigns and ravages, during no less than eight years, brought no lasting benefit to the Marathas. Their primary aim of realising Chauth was neither fulfilled nor the wealth they plundered from the provinces compensated their losses on men and money. Their repeated failures led them to think of gaining something by an amicable settlement with Nawab Alivardi Khan. On the other hand Alivardi also could not check the Maratha depredations in spite of constant vigilance and profuse loss of men and money, By this time he was an old man of 75 suffering from physical ailment and infirmity. He wanted rest and his own people, who were much troubled, wanted peace and sefety. Thus, both the parties became eager for peace by the year 1751.[170]

Hence negotiations for a treaty began to be carried on by Mir Jafar, on behalf of Alivardi and Mirza Saleh, on behalf of the Marathas.[171] The draft of this treaty was first made at Murshidabad. It was finally signed with the consent of the Nagpur court, in May or June 1751, on the following terms :

(1) Mir Habib was to be regarded as being in the service of Alivardi and should be appointed by him Deputy Governor of Orissa on his own behalf. He would spend the surplus revenues of Orissa for payment of the arrear salary of Raghuji's soldiers.

(2) From October 1751, twelve lakhs rupees should annually be paid to Raghuji from the Bengal revenue as Chauth 'on condition that the Marathas would never set their foot again within the dominions' of Alivardi.

(3) The river Subarnarekha near Jaleswar was fixed as the demarcation line between the boundaries of Orissa and Bengal, and Marathas agreed never to cross it again.[172]

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This treaty was a triangular compromise amongst three sets of forces in the name of Raghuji for money, Mir Habib for honour and revenge, and Alivardi for rest without being unmindful for retaining his normal overlordship over Orissa.[178] The last clause of the treaty reveals the weak stand of Alivardi. Although officially Orissa was not ceded to the Marathas, but virtually it became a part of the Maratha kingdom from 1751. Thus from this date the Muslim rule in Orissa ended.

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71. A small state lying midway between Cuttack and Bhubaneswar to the south of the former and north of the latter. Originally it was a part of Khurda. After the Mughal conquest of Orissa, it was separated from

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it and conferred on the second son of Mukunda Deva, the last independent king of Orissa, by Raja Man Singh. The eldest son of Mukunda Deva was given the estate of Aul, while Ramachandra Deva I of the Bhoi dynasty was confirmed in possession of Khurda on payment of tribute. Thus the descendants of Mukunda Deva were looked upon as rivials of the Rajas of Khurda of the Bhoi dynasty (vide *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Puri, p. 45).

72. *Khurda Itihasa*, op.cit., p. 188.
73. The original sanad has been published by C. Mohapatra in his book *Utkal Itihasa-ra Eka Angyata Adhyaya*, p. 226.
74. The original painting has been published in the above mentioned book, p. 230.
75. *Utkal Itihasa-ra Eka Angyata Adhyaya*, op.cit., pp. 230ff.
76. *Siyar*, p. 408.
77. These sanads have been published in *Khurda Etihasa* of K. Mohapatra, pp. 192ff.
78. 'Mukti Mandap' is the highest religious body attached to the temple of Jagannath which then was headed by the Prime Minister. All the controversial matters corresponding to Hindu religion were being referred to it and its decision was final and binding. The Raja had no right of interference in its deliberations.
79. *Utkal Itihasa-ra Eka Angyata Adhyaya*, p. 233.
80. *Madla Panji*, 77f.
81. (a) Banerji, R. D., *History of Orissa*, Vol II, p. 80.
    (b) Sri Surendra Mohanty, an eminent Oriya writer had written a historical novel on the facts relating to Ramachandra Deva II. The name of the book is 'Nila Saila' for which Mr. Mohanty has received National Sahitya Academy award in the year 1971. In this book, Mr. Mohanty has developed the story how Ramachandra was persecuted by Taqi Khan and finally was forced to accept Islam. In his

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introduction to 'Nila Saila', Mr. Mohanty has claimed that he has written the novel based on solid historical facts. But his claim is not correct. His novel has been written based on more imaginary facts rather than historical.

82. All these incidents have been described by C. Mohapatra in his book '*Utkal Itihasa-ra Eka Angyata Adhyaya*' (pp. 241ff) and the photostate copy of the original 'sanad' has also been attached in it.
83. This is known from a paper manuscript on which the photograph of Ramachandra and his muslim queen in male dress has been painted. On this, it has been written, 'Gajapati Ramachandra Deva and Soura Suryamani Mahadei'. Vide "*Utkal Itihasa-ra Eka Angyata Adhyaya*, pp. 254-255.
84. Narshinghpur is at a distance of about 100 miles from Cuttack.
85. *Madla Panji*, p. 77.
86. *Ibid.*
87. This known from one Copper-plate of Bikarkishore Deva, which has now been preserved in the Baripada Museum of Keonjhar district in Orissa. This Copper-plate has been written in both Oriya and Persian.
88. '*Nabajiban*' (Oriya Magazine), 3rd year, 7th Number, p. 498 & 503.
89. *Madla Panji*, p. 78.
90. *Khurda Itihasa*, op.cit., p. 198.
91. The deed of gift is a grant of land of Lord Jagannath by Padmanava Deva. The deed is recorded on two paper documents written in both old Persian and Oriya script. They were originally in the office of the Collector, Cuttack, now they are preserved in the Orissa State Archives (Vide *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. III, No. I, pp. 40, 43).
92. Mukhras Ali Khan is actually Mukhlis Ali Khan who afterwards betrayed his master and went over to the side of his enemy Alivardi Khan. *Ahwal-I-Alivardi Khan* by Yusuf, f. 24 ; *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 497 ; *Riyaz*, p. 328.

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93. *Kalijuga Purana*, Op.cit.
94. *Madla Panji*, p. 78.
95. *Kalijuga Purana*, Op.cit.
96. *Madla Panji*, p. 78.
97. *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 489 ; Yusuf Ali, *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 8 ; Md. Wafa, *Waqai Fath Bengalah*, f.s. 6-7 ; *Riyaz*, p. 288.
98. Datta, K. K., *Alivardi and His Times*, p. 14.
99. *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 389.
100. *Ibid*, p. 490.
101. *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, op.cit., f. 14.
102. *Riyaz*, pp. 312ff ; *Siyar*. Vol. II, p. 493; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, op.cit., f. 16 ; *Letter to Court*, 4 August 1740 (Imperial Record Dept.) vide *Alivardi and His Times*, p. 25, f.n. 86 ; *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh*, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V, pp. 222ff.
103. *Riyaz*, p. 322 ; *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 496.
104. *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 496.
105. Datta, K. K., *Alivardi and His Times*, p. 33.

Part II

1. *Riyaz*, p. 293 ; *Imad-us-saadat*, f. 26a. He received the title of Alivardi when Shujauddin appointed him later on faujdar of Rajmahal. (Vide K. K. Datta's *Alivardi and His Times*, p. 1).
2. *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 470.
3. *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. I ; *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 470 ; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 228.
4. *Riyaz*, p. 293 ; *Rahat-ul-Arwah*, f. 83A.
5. *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. I.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid* ; *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 40.
8. *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 470 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 2.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid*, f. 1.

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11. *Ibid* ; *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 470.
12. *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 2.
13. *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 8a.
14. *Tarikh-i Alivardi*, Ms Patna University Library, *Vide the Journal of Orissa Academy*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 16.
15. *Ahwal-i Alivardi Khan*, f. 2.
16. *Tarikh-i-Alivardi*, Op.cit., p. 16.
17. *Ibid* ; *Ahwal-i-Alivardi Khan*, f. 3.
18. *Ibid* ; *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 470.
19. *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 5a.
20. This place can be identified on the map of Orissa with Satrapur, a little more than 10 miles east of Angul for the description given in Muzaffarnamah fits with it. (Vide *Journal of Orissa Academy*, Vol. III, No. I, p. 16, f. n. 12).
21. This refers to the state of Keonjhar, 'the third largest of the Orissa states'. The modern Gazetteer also speaks of the 'wild ranges of lofy hills and dense jungles which form the boundary between Keonjhar and neighbouring states of Dhenkanal and others'. (Vide *Ibid*, p. 17, f. n. 13).
22. Prof. S. H. Askari (*The Journal of Orissa Academy*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 17, foot note 14) has identified this place with Athgarh, an Orissan state. But Dr. K. K. Datta has identified it with Angul state (Vide *Alivardi and His Times*, p. 3). The latter identification seems to be correct.
23. Dhenkanal a Garjat state was then a petty zamindary under the Bhanja chief of Keonjhar. (R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 24).
24. *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 470.
25. *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 3 ; *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 9b.
26. *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 913.
27. Datta, K. K., *Alivardi and His Times*, pp. 4f.
28. Orme's *History of Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 27.
29. Khalikot, 15 miles due north of Ganjam town.

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30. Malud is described as "on the frontier facing for Deccan and of Chilka lake". (Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*).
31. *The Journal of Orissa Academy*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 19.
32. The Raja of Kujang in this time was Damodar Sandha who ruled from 1706-1721. (Vide, *Utkal Sahitya*, Vol. XI, No. 7, 1908—the article written by B. B. Sen on the history of ancient Kujang).
33. *Muzaffaranamah* (Vide *the Journal of Orissa Academy*, Vol II, No. 1, pp. 19-20).
34. *Riyaz*, p. 294 ; *Siyar*, Vol II, p. 470
35. *Ibid.*
36. Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 473.
37. Datta, K. K., *Alivardi and His Times*, pp. 4 ff.
38. *Siyar*, Vol II, p. 471 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 4.
39. *Muzaffarnamah.*, f. II. A.
40. *Ibid*, f. 12A.
41. *Waqai-i-Fath Bangalah* by Md. Wafa., F. 5 ; *Muzaffarnmah*, f. 12 a.
42. *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 472 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 6-7 ; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 22.
43. *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 273.
44. *Riyaz*, pp. 311, 317 & 323.
45. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 345ff.
46. *Siyar*, Vol, I, p. 348 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f 21 ; *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, f. 105B.
47. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 348.
48. *Riyaz*, p. 325.
49. *Riyaz*, p. 325 ; *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, f. 106B.
50. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 348 ; *Ahwal-i-Allwardi Khan*, f. 21.
51. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 348f.
52. *Ibid*, p. 349.
53. *Ibid*, p. 350.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXV, p. 31, f. n. 9,
56. *Riyaz*, pp. 326f.

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57. Phulwari was situated at a distance of four miles north of the Balasore town.
58. *Ahwal-i Aliwardi Khan*, f. 22 ; *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 350.
59. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 350.
60. *Riyaz*, p. 326.
61. This title had been conferred on Sayeed Ahmad by the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah. Vide *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 229.
62. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 350 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 21 ; *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 37A ; *Alivardi and His Times*, op.cit., pp 34 f.
63. *Riyaz*, p. 327.
64. *Madla Panji*, p. 79.
65. *Riyaz*, p. 327.
66. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 350.
67. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 351 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 23.
68. *Siyar*, Vol I, p. 351.
69. *Siyar*, p. 327.
70. *Ibid*, p. 328.
71. *Ibid.*
72. Letter to Court, dated 26th July, 1741. Vide *Alivardi & His Times*, op.cit., p. 36, f.n. 167.
73. *Riyaz*, p. 328, Vol. I, p. 351 ; *Ahwal-i-Alivardi Khan*, f. 23 ; *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, f. 109A.
74. *Riyaz*, p. 329; *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, f.109B.
75. *Riyaz*, p. 323 ; *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 351 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 24 ; *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, f. 109a.
76. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 351 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 24.
77. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 351.
78. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 352 f ; *Riyaz*, p. 330.
79. *J.A.H R.S*, XXV, pp. 33-34.
80. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 352f.
81. *Alivardi & His Times*, op.cit., p. 37.
82. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 353f ; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol V, p. 229.
83. *Siyar*, Vol, I, pp. 353-354.
84. *Ibid*, pp. 345 f.

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85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid ; Riyaz*, p. 330.
87. *Alivardi and His Times*, op.cit, p. 38.
88. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 354 f ; *Riyaz*, p. 330 ; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, *J.B.O.R.S*, Vol. V, p. 229.
85. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, op.cit.
90. *J.A.H.R.S.*, XXV, 34.
91. *Riyaz*, p. 331 ; *Siyar*, Vol I, pp. 354f.
92. Banerji, R. D., *Hist. of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 79f.
93. *Madla Panji*, p. 79.
94. *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 24B ; *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, f. 110 A.
95. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 354f. ; *Riyaz*, p. 332 ; *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, f. 110 B.
96. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 354 f.
97. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 354 ; *Riyaz*, p. 332.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Alivardi and His Times*, op.cit., p. 39.
100. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 355 ff.
101. *Ibid* ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 25.
102. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 355f & 64 ; *O.H.R.J.*, XI, No. I, 8.
103. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 355 f. ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 25 ; *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 38B.
104. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 355 f ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 25.
105. *Riyaz*, p. 333 ; *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, f. 111 A.
106. *Ibid.*
107. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p 356 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 26 ; *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 38B.
108. *Riyaz*, p. 333.
109. Letter to Court, 11th December, 1741. Vide *Alivardi & His Times.*, op. cit. f. n. 260 (p. 40).
110. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 356.
111. *Ibid.*
112. *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 39a
113. *Riyaz*, p. 333.
114. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 8.
115. *Alivardi & His Times*, op.cit., p. 40.

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116. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 369 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 26.
117. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p 369.
118. *Ibid.*
119. *Ibid.*
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid* ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 26.
123. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 369 f.
124. Letter to Court, 23rd Dec., 1741, vide *Alivardi & His Times*, op.cit., p. 41.
125. *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 16.
126. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 369 f.
127. *Ibid ; Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*. f. 26 ; *Riyaz*, pp. 334 f , *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 39 A.
128. *Riyaz*, p. 334.
129. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 369 f.
130 *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 26 ; *Riyaz*, p. 336.
131. Letter to Court, 23 Dec., 1741, vide *Alivardi & His Times*, op. cit., p. 41,
132. *Riyaz*, p. 336 ; *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, f. 114 B.
133. *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 27.
134. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 370.
135. *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 27.
136. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 370 ; *Riyaz*, p. 336.
137. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 370 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*. f. 27.
138. *Riyaz*, p. 336.
139. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 370 ; *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 40 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 27.
140 *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 370.
141. *Ibid.*
142. *Riyaz*, p. 336.
143. *Siyar*, Vol. I p. 370 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 27.
144. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 370 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 28 ; *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 40A.
145. *Ibid.*
146. *Muzaffarnamah*, f. 40A.
147. *Riyaz*, p. 337 ; *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 28.

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148. *Riyaz*, p. 337.
149. *Ahwal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 28.
150. *Ibid.*
151. *Alivardi & His Times*, op.cit., p. 45.
152. Sardesai, G. S., *New Hist. of Marathas*, Vol. II (1958), p. 208.
153. *Siyar*, Vol I, p. 375 ; *Muzaffarnamah*, F. 40B ; *Ahwal i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 28.
154. *Siyar*, Vol. I. p. 375 ; *Riyaz*, p. 338.
155. *Riyaz*, pp. 337 f
156. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 387
157. *Ahawal-i-Aliwardi Khan*, f. 28 ; *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 387.
158. *Siyar*, Vol. I, pp. 375 f. ; *Riyaz*, p. 338.
159. Vaidya, S. L., (ed) ; *A Selection of Papers from Vaidya Daftar*, Vol. IV, 16 May, 1742-Letter No. 16.
160. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 395.
161. *Ibid*, p. 396.
162. *Siyar*, Vol I, p. 396 ; *Riyaz*, p. 338
163. *Ibid*, p. 340 ; p. 345.
164. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 405.
165. *Ibid*, *Riyaz*, p. 346.
166. *Siyar*, Vol I. p. 405.
167. *Riyaz*, pp 346 f ; *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 406.
168. *Siyar*, Vol. I, p. 406.
169. For details see *Alivardi and His Times*, op.cit., pp. 63-90.
170. *Riyaz*, p. 391 ; *Siyar*. Vol. II, p. 111.
171. *Siyar*, Vol. II, pp. 111 f.
172. *Ibid*, pp. 112f.
173. Roy, B. C , *Orissa Under Marathas*, p. 20.

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Chapter Eight

ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE MUSLIMS

The foundation of the Muslim rule in Orissa was laid in A.D. 1568 by Sulaiman Karrani of Bengal. From A.D. 1568 to 1575, the Afghans were in possession of the border districts to the north of river Mahanadi. The Afghan rule in Orissa continued only for a short period and after that began the Mughal-Afghan hostility for supremacy in Orissa. Therefore, the Afghans hardly got time to introduce their own administrative system in Orissa. Thus in the short regime of the Afghans no change was made in the old administrative and revenue system of Orissa.

In A.D. 1576, with the defeat and death of Daud Karrani, Orissa was nominally annexed to Akbar's empire and was kept as a Mughal province along with Bengal. But general apathy and neglect of the Mughal officers permitted the Afghans to linger on in Bengal and Orissa till the end of Akbar's reign. From A.D. 1576 to 1605, nearly thirty years were spent by the Mughal officers of Bengal in trying to stamp out the rebellious spirit of the Afghans in Bengal and Orissa.

Thus Orissa was never effectively subjugated during the time of Akbar. It had nominally become a part of the empire on the fall of Daud Karrani, but the Afghan Chiefs continued to resist the attempts of the Mughal subahdars of Bengal to conquer it In A.D. 1584, Shahbaz Khan, the Mughal subahdar of Bengal permitted Qutlu Lohani to enjoy Orissa in peace. In this connection Abul Fazl writes : "The officers from cupidity and the hardships of campaigns, did not attend to the circumstances and made use of a former order (of the Emperor) which was to the effect that if the dweller in the ravine of ruin (i.e., Qutlu) should bind himself to the saddle straps of eternal dominion (i.e. Mughal empire) they were to make over Orissa to him"[1]. Accordingly, Qutlu was left to enjoy Orissa in peace and in turn as a mark of gratitude, he sent his nephew with

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sixty noted elephants and other presents. These reached Akbar on 11 June 1584[3]. Likewise, in A.D. 1590 a treaty was made between Isa Khan and Raja Man Singh by which it was settled that the Khutba would be read and coins struck in the name of the Emperor of Delhi··· The temple of Jagannath, with its dependencies was to be made crownland and no harm should be done to the loyal Zamindars[3]. But the treaty was broken by his successors after the death of Isa Khan and Raja Man Singh was again despatched to subjugate the Afghans

The imperial territory was divided by Akbar in A.D. 1595 into twelve Subahs, which became fifteen when Khandesh, Berar and Ahmadnagar were subsequently annexed[4]. But in this list of provinces. Orissa had not been mentioned. Rather Orissa was treated as a sub-province and appended for purposes of administration and supervision to the adjoining major province. Abul Fazl has made it perfectly clear that while Orissa was recognised to have had historically and geographically a distinct identity, under Akbar it was, for the sake of administrative convenience, joined to Bengal[5]. "When the country of Orissa was added to this Subah (Bengal) writes Abul Fazl, 'the additional length was forty-three kos and the breadth twenty-three'.[6]

For administrative purpose Orissa was divided into five Sarkars, viz., Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Katak, Kalinga Dandapat and Rajmahendri. Each Sarkar was again divided into Mahals. There were in total ninety-nine Mahals, the details of which have been mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. The total revenue collected from the five sarkars was Rs. 4268,330.[7] The arrangement of the Ain-i-Akbari calls for special attention on several points. Firstly, the list of Mahals is given at the very end of the Bengal table, and not alphabetically arranged with its sarkars. Secondly, the Sarkars of Orissa, unlike those of Bengal, are arranged geographically from north to south, and not alphabetically. Thirdly, in two southernmost sarkars, Kalinga Dandapat and Rajamahendra, no details of the Mahals have been given. The details were evidently not known, as these sarkars had not come into the occupation of the Mughals or their predecessors, the Afghans. The

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southern part of Orissa was invaded and the greater portion of it occupied by the forces of Golkonda Sultan, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, in A.D. 1571. Fifthly, the names of the Mahals correspond closely with the names of the Hindu Dandapats. At the same time their grouping into Sarkars was unknown to the Hindus, being the work apparently of the Musalman rulers. The Sarkar Katak which came last in the occupation of the Muslims shows practically on change from the earlier system. But in the Sarkar Jalesar occur some Muslim variations of the Mahal names, while some smaller sub-divisions of the Dandapats were turned into separate Mahals.[8]

Under Jahangir, Orissa was detached from Bengal and was made a separate province. In A.D. 1607 the first separate Mughal subahdar of Orissa was appointed and the rest of the province was gradually conquered. Though Orissa was made a separate province, it was occasionally entrusted to the viceroys of the adjoining province of Bengal. This was done either to show special favour to a person or for the sake of better supervision and control. In such cases the governor as a rule governed Orissa through a Deputy appointed by himself with the apprēval of the Emperor. Raja Kalyan Singh was appointed subahdar of Orissa in A.D. 1611 on the recommendation of Islam Khan, Subahdar of Bengal.[9] In A.D. 1642, Shah Shuja was appointed the subahdar of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. He ruled Orissa through his deputies.[10] Similarly, under the Nazims of Bengal, Orissa was ruled by their Naib Nazims.

The first administrative and revenue settlement of Orissa was made by Raja Todar Mal in A.D. 1580. Raja Todar Mal's Settlement is known as "Taqsim Jamma and Tankhwah Raqmi". According to this settlement, Orissa was broadly divided into two parts, Mughalbandi and Garhjats or Qillazats. The area which remained under the direct administration of the Mughals was called 'Mughalbandi'. The area under the native princes who tendered submission and agreed to pay a fixed annual 'Peshkash' was known as 'Garhjats'.[11]

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The Muslims had early realised that it is impossible for them to wipe out the numerous Hindu chiefs which existed at that time. Consequently, they had recognised many of them who had made submission and acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi. When Akbar succeeded, he adopted a new attitude towards them. Akbar's object was only to make the whole country acknowledge his suzerainty and to bring it under a single political banner. It was not part of his design to completely wipe out the states and principalities which existed at that time. Possessed of a keen insight, Akbar had recognised the inevitable necessity of leaving these chiefs in virtual enjoyment of their internal authority over their respective territories, for the sake of establishing his rule on firm and enduring foundations. Thus a very considerable part of the Mughal dominions remained under the rule of their old hereditary chiefs and was never directly administered by the Imperial government.[17] In case of Orissa, this policy proved highly successful so far as the Emperor's general authority over inaccessible and wild territories was concerned.

Thus under Raja Todar Mal's settlement the hereditary chiefs of the Garhjats were acknowledged as hereditary fiefs in Zamindari tenure. They were invested with the ranks and titles conferred by the Mughal Court These states (Zamindars) varied widely in their status and position. When Man Singh came to Orissa in A.D. 1593, he gave the final shape to Todar Mal's settlement.

The most important among the Zamindars of Orissa was the Raja of Khurda. He was recognised as the "Gajapati" king of Orissa who had a command of 200 forts and thirty-one small Zamindars (feudatory Chiefs) paid him tribute. The reigning king was styled as the Raja of Khurda with the rank of a commander of 3,500.[18] The Raja's own estate of Khurda, one Zamindari, contained 71 Qillahs. Under the Raja's command were thirty Zamindaris of the feudatory chiefs of the hilly forest regions of Orissa containing 129 Qillahs. They were namely Banki, Dumpada, Badamba, Tigiria, Narsinghpur, Angul, Talcher,

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Murdeswara, Athgarh, Dhenkanal, Sirhinda, Andhiyari, Bajrakot, Achalkot, Nayagarh, Khandpada, Ranpur, Daspalla, Banpuri Ghoomser, Khalikot, Kurlo Athgarh, Chikiti, Mohuri, Shergarh, Palur and Tikally Raghunathpur.[14]

The two sons of Mukunda Deva (The last independent king of Orissa) were assigned respectively with the title of Raja and rank of two hundred, pattia, Sarangagarh, and Aul with Derabissi and Uthar. These two sons of Mukunda Deva were probably Adwand and Sundar, Zamindars of Orissa, whose names appear in the list of Ain-i-Akbari's grandees as Mansabdars of 200[15]. From some persian documents Stirling got the information that these two Rajas had the rank of 500[16].

The more distant Zamindars were separated from the control of the Raja of Khurda, and placed under seven principal zamindars viz., the Zamindars of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Bishenpur Futtihabad, Maraingarh, Karramngarh, and Nag of Baghbhum.[17]

There is sufficient evidence to prove that the Chiefs of Orissa did not pay homage to the provincial governors of Orissa. They also did not care to obey their orders. They had direct dealings with the imperial government. They enjoyed through immunity from on undue interference with their authority or encroachment on their rights, which were secured by special farmans of the Emperor. A very interesting case how the privileges and self respect of these chiefs were protected by the emperor has been mentioned by Abul Fazl. In A.D. 1595, Man Singh came for the conquest of Orissa. He summoned Raja Ramachandra Deva of Khurda to attend on him. Ramachandra Deva protested against this demand of the Viceroy as beyond his authority. Man Singh sent an expedition against him and his forces occupied several fortresses. "On hearing this", says Abul Fazl, "His Majesty, who appreciates dignities became angry and censured Man Singh for this act of supercilliousness". Man Singh recalled his troops and apologised[18]. Another instance which shows that these Rajas brooked no encroachment on their internal powers is cited by Manrique[19]. The portuguese missionaries wanted to build a church at Bandel for which they

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managed to get a farman of permission from the governor (Nawab) of Orissa. They did not, however, think if advisable to build it without the permission of the Raja in whose territory it lay. When Manrique went to the Raja and told him that they did not like to build the church although they had the governor's permission, the Raja replied that he had a farman from the emperor in which 'these Nawabs were warned not to introduce any innovations into his territory' and that the Nawab's farman was therefore of no use to them. He, however, from considerations of courtesy granted their request. This instance show that even those smaller chiefs, who were otherwise under the supervision of the local authorities, were scrupulously protected from any encroachment on their internal authority, and were not left to tender mercies of Governors.[20]

The greater bulk of the province of Orissa was thus ruled by these chiefs some of whom were quasi-independent and the other feudatory. There is not mention of Khurda in the Ain-i-Akbari and it would appear that the ruler of this state was not bound to pay any regular tribute or supply a levy of troops. Many of these Zamindars are named in the Ain-i-Akbari as 'Mazkuren' translated by Jarret as 'independent taluqdars'[21]. They contributed their shares of revenue which are individually mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari only for the three sarkars of Jalesar, Bhadrak and Katak, the total alone being given for the two other sarkars of Kalinga Dandapat and Raj Mahendri.

'Mazkuren' was according to Wilson, applied in old revenue accounts to "small and scattered estates not included in the accounts of the districts in which they are situated, and of which the assessments were paid direct to the government officers". Thus it is clear that, just as in Rajputana, in formal manner and perhaps for the sake of political supervision these zamindars were divided into separate sarkars, and many of them were free from any control of the district authorities.[22]

Regarding the contingents which they had to supply it is wellnigh impossible to discover any rational connection between the total given for the whole sarkars and the

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details given for each mahal or group of mahals. In case of Jaleswar the total given and the actual totals very nearly tally, the actual total of infantry is nearly twice the total given. In case of Katak there is still greater discrepancy between the two totals of both cavalry and infantry. Further together with the figures of infantry and cavalry the number of forts of each mahal is bracketed. It is, therefore, not possible to say how much of these forces were actually supplied, as the figure stated in the Ain i-Akbari seem rather to represent the forces which they kept for their own use.[25]

The next important change in the field of administration was made during the reign of Shah Jahan. This change was introduced during the second viceroyalty of the Prince Shah Shuja (A.D. 1648-1658). Orissa which had been administered by a separate governor, generally appointed direct from Delhi, had been then added to the Prince Shah Shuja's viceroyalty of Bengal. In his time Orissa was ruled by the agents or deputy-governors of Prince Shuja, whose headquarters was in Dacca

In the revenue divisions of Todar Mal, important change was made in about A.D. 1688, in the reign of Aurangzeb. In this time Orissa was re-arranged into three groups of four sarkars each or twelve sarkars and 276 mahals. The sarkar of Jaleswar was divided into Jalesar (22 mahals), Kaljateah (21 mahals), Gualperah (28 mahals) and Muscoory (11 mahals). The sarkar of Bhadrak was similarly divided into four other sarkars namely Bhadrak (19 mahals), Soro (15 mahals), Remuna (20 mahals) and Basta (10 mahals). The sarkar of Cuttack also divided into four sarkars namely Cuttack (100 mahals), Barua (9 mahals), Jajpur (5 mahals) and Padshahnagar (16 mahals)[26] In this list of sarkars, there is no mention of Kalinga Dandapat and Rajmahendri which had passed to the control of the Golkonda Sultans

The total revenue from these twelve sarkars was Rs. 49,61 497, From this amount the rent of the 32 mahals which were in the possession of the feudatory chiefs of Orissa, assessed

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at Rs. 8,73,518, was deducted, making the net revenue of the province of Orissa Rs. 40,87,979.[25]

The date of the division of the three original sarkars into twelve can be determined by the mention of the Gajapati Raja of Khurda who heads the list of feudatory chiefs who ruled over these thirty-two mahals. The Raja of Khurda is mentioned as Raja Derrup Singh Deo. He was no one other than Divyasingh Deva, the son and successor of Mukunda Deva I, who ruled from A.D. 1688-1716. The partition of the three sarkars into twelve, therefore, must belong to the reign of Aurangzeb.[26]

The revenue divisions of Orissa underwent further reorganisation in A D 1704 when Murshid Quli Khan was the Subahdar as well as Diwan. Orissa was divided into thirteen sarkars of which the northernmost six sarkars were dismembered from Orissa and annexed to Bengal The main reason for this change was said to be to protect the growing port of Balasore, and its sea-coast against the ravages of the Arracanese. Those six sarkars were Gualpara, Maljuteah, Muscoory, Jalesar, Remuna and Bastah[27]. Murshid Quli Khan was famous as a great financier. He made arrangement to collect revenue direct from the tenants The Amils in Bengal and Orissa sent Shiqdars and Amins to every village who measured cultivated and waste land, leased them back to the tenants plot by plot and advanced agricultural loans (Taqqavi) for the increase in the production. His main service to Aurangzeb was the regular remittance of sufficient amount of the increased revenue of the provinces under him[28]. This amount was spent by Aurangzeb in the southern war. For this service Murshid Quli Khan received the title of Mutamin-ul-Mulk Alauddaulah Jafar Khan Nasiri Nasir Jang. Aurangzeb also increased his 'Zat' by 500 more in the rank.[29]

The other important change which Murshid Quli introduced was that he changed the general name mahal into pragana and for the Khalsa portion added an administrative division higher than the sarkars known as Chaklah. The northern sarkars which had been annexed to Bengal were under two Chaklahs,

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Bandar Balasore and Hijli. The former consisted of seventeen praganas situated in sarkars of Remuna, Basta and Muscoory rated at Rs. 108,876/-. Hijli consisted of thirtyfive praganas situated in Sarkars of Maljateah, Jaleswar and Gualpara rated at Rs. 4,18,589/-. Thus an amount of Rs. 5,27,465/- was added to the revenue of Bengal on account of above two chaklahs[30]. Later on in A.D. 1728, the corrected rent roll was prepared during the regime of Shujauddin Muhammad who was the Naib-Nazim of Murshid Quli Khan The twelve mahals immediately dependent on Bandar Balasore was re-added to Orissa raising its revenue by Rs. 74,340/-. Thus the total effective revenue of Orissa during Murshid Quli Khan's time was Rs. 36,67,245/-.[31]

During the subahdarship of Murshid Quli Khan the Chaklah of Medinipur was also separated from Orissa and was added permanently to Bengal subah.[32]

In A.D. 1751, Alivardi Khan tired of fighting with the Marathas ceded to them the portion of Orissa, extending from the Pipley on the river Suvarnarekha in the north to Malud on the borders of lake Chilka on the south. With this the addition and substraction to the territorial extent of Orissa finally stopped.

While the Mughals thus wisely left the turbulent feudal chiefs and Zamindars to the management of those who from their local rank hereditary influenee were best qualified to control them, they considered it expedient to adopt also, with very little variation, the system which they found existing for the administration of the 'Khalisah' lands, that is the territory annexed to the Imperial Diwani. The only marked change which they introduced was that of translating all the Oriya designations of offices, divisions, into more familiar Persian terms of corresponding impost[33]. Under the Gajapati kings, Orissa had been divided into two administrative divisions. Some portions were under the direct administration of the Gajapati king. The other part was under a number of feudal kings. Those kings who had accepted the suzerain power of the Gajapati king were known as Garhjat kings. Under the Mughal rule, according to Todar Mal's settlement, Orissa was divided into Mughalbandi and

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Garhjat, following the existing system. Therefore, it is a wrong notion that for the first time Orissa was divided into Mughalbandi and Garhjat by Todar Mal. The word 'Garhjat' had been used for the first time by Raja Govinda Bidyadhar of the Bhoi dynasty in his Jagannath temple inscription.[34]

The historical evidences that have come to light so far about the rules of ancient and medieval Orissa provide some information about the revenue administration prevailing in these days. Revenue system undoubtedly formed the basis of administration. During the Sailodbhava dynasty, the whole kingdom was divided into certain broad divisions called Mandalas. Each Mandala was subdivided into Vishayas. The sub-division of Vishaya were variously termed as Bhoga, Bhukti, Khanda, Panchali as mentioned in different inscriptions, The smallest revenue division was a village or Grama. In addition to these there were areas under feudatory chiefs called Mahasamantas or Samantas. The estates of the feudal chiefs were designated as garhjats or Qillahjats during the Mughal period.[35]

But in the later period, that is, during the rule of the Gangas, Suryavansis and Bhoi dynasty the designations of the revenue division changed. The Mandalas come to be known as Dandapata, while Vishayas as Bisa or Bisis. Khandas were probably smaller revenue divisions than Bisi.[36]

Under the later Ganga, the Suryavansi and Bhoi dynasty, the officer incharge of the Dandapata was called Dandapata-parikshya. The Chief Revenue Officer of a Bisis was called Bisoi. He was helped by an accountant cum-record-keeper called Bhoimul. Khandas were under Khandapala. Heads of the villages were known as Pradhans and the revenue accountants as Bhois. Towns were designated as Kataka.[37]

Under the Mughal revenue administrative system the Dandapata came to be known as Sarkar, the Bisi became Mahal or pragana and the Khanda became Taluk. The villages were called Mauja. Likewise, the Officer-in-charge of the Dandapata was designated as Faujdar. The head of the pragana came to be known as Choudhury. The Bhoimul was called Qanungo-Walayati. The head of the Taluq was given the designation

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of Taluqdar. The head of the Mauja, which was the lowest unit, was called Maqaddum The Bhoi of the Grama was called Qanungo.[88]

In the Garhjat adminstration also very little changes were made. The feudatory kings were called Zamindars and the head of the Garh or Qilla was given the title of Qilladar.

Thus there was very little difference between the administrative and revenue systems of the Mughal Orissa in comparison to the old indigenous system prevalent in Orissa. The Mughals managed the administration of Orissa mainly by the Hindu officials. The village community was left absolutely undisturbed to carry on its work smoothly. The Mughals did not destroy it because they realised that they had no better alternative to substitute in its place, which would be calculated to serve the interests of the people so well. So they gave it a sort of legal standing by their tacit recognition of it, and encouraged it to co-operate with the government in its function.

Under the Mughals, the head of the province was officially styled the Subahdar. Later on, he was called Nazim. The Subahdar was the Viceregent of the soverign. Next to him in official rank, though not in any way subordinate to him, was the Diwan These two principal officers of the province between them shared the responsibility of practically the whole administrative machinery The Subahdar was responsible for the executive, defence, criminal justice, and general supervision The Diwan was responsible primarily for revenue administration and civil justice. Both the provincial officers were appointed, promoted or dismissed by and were responsible directly to the Mughal Emperor Thus there were two parallel and mutually independent organisations in the province. This system was in nature of an administrative dyarchy. The purpose of this ingenious administrative device was to create a most potent and reliable check on the highest officials of the province. The subahdar and diwan kept a jealous watch over each other's activities and reported them to the headquarters. As soon as the imperial government

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was informed that the diwan and the governor were quarrelling with each other, one of them or sometimes both were immediately recalled. Thus while acting in complete harmony they both exercised a very healthy influence and restraint upon each other and added considerably to the efficiency of the administration.[39]

An apt illustration of the way in which these two offices kept a watch on each other is afforded by the relations of Md. Hashim, the diwan (A.D. 1661-1663) and Khan-i-Duran, the governnor of Orissa. During the disorder towards the end of Shah Jahan's reign the revenue administration was in chaotic state. Raja Raghunath the 'Imperial Chancellor' therefore appointed a strong man, Md. Hashim as the diwan of Orissa. On arriving in Orissa he at once called for all papers of his predecessors in office and the collections they had made. Khan-i-Duran sent them without demur saying 'your predecessors were Md. Jan and Mir Ismail. You have called for their papers. What objection I possibly having giving them to you ? ··· You complain that Mir Ibrahim, Bakshi, has usurped and appropriated to himself some villages in the pragana of Sarsatibisi. What his agents have collected from that pragana will be paid into the imperial treasury. You write that Amil of Pragana Karmul has misappropriated some money··· I order an enquiry to be made, and, in case the allegation is found true, the man will be beaten to make him disgorge the money'.[40] But when the Diwan went beyond his jurisdiction and interfered with the executive department, and withdrew man from the Hariharpur mint, Khan-i-Duran at once warned him to send the men of the mint immediately. Md. Hashim persisted in his arrogant ways which eventually spelt the ruin even of the revenue department. Khan-i-Duran, therefore, made a representation to the Imperial Chancellor and Md. Hashim was removed.[41]

It may, however, be noted that though the Diwan in his office was practically independent of the subahdar's authority, he was not his equal in status or rank. The subahdar besides enjoying a much higher rank had also the

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advantage of being the head of the executive and naturally in the public eye he commanded greater prestige and honour than the diwan.[42]

The control of the central authority in an empire so extensive as that of the Mughals and at a time when the means of communication were very slow, depended, to a considerable extent, on the geographical conditions and on the personal equations of the king and the provincial governor. The obstacles and difficulties that a benevolent and strong ruler would have to face would arise from distance, from the nature of locality or province, and from the recalcitrant, convetous or neglectful character of the governor. That the obstacles in the way of good administration were great cannot be denied.[43]

The Mughals, therefore, had introduced a series of checks to control and supervise the activities of the government officers, especially the governors. They were frequently transferred, so that none could consider himself permanent master of one place. What was more, they were never allowed to remain a moment if it came to be known to the emperor that they were either oppressive or neglectful and inefficient.[44] In case of distant provinces like Orissa, this policy worked well. Therefore, there was frequent transfer of governors. There were numerous instances of governors being punished for misgovernment or atleast severely reprimanded and recalled. Even such an influential officer as Man Singh was reprimanded by Akbar for his policy towards the king of Khurda. Likewise, when some charges were brought against Raja Kalyan, he was recalled from Orissa by Jahangir to explain the charges of misconduct. Similarly, Shah Nawaz Khan was recalled from Orissa as soon as Shah Jahan learnt that he was behaving with injustice towards the people and the peasantry.

In view of these facts, it would be no exaggeration, to say that, due allowance being made for stray cases of misgovernment and oppression.

In Mughal times, the revenue of Orissa was collected in the form of rice, is definitely supported from the accounts of Khan-

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i-Duran as mentioned in the Muraqat-i-Hasan[45]. This fact also is ascertained from the letter of Prince Shah Shuja written to Shah Jahan[46], and the letter from Murshid Quli Khan to Aurangzeb. The revenue collection of Orissa mainly depended on the autumn harvest. The demand of the state was fixed at one-third of the produce in all-India level. But in the field of revenue administration, instead of following general practices, the Mughals permitted interesting deviations. From the letters of Abul Hassan who was the Secretary to the Subahdars of Orissa (A D. 1655-1667) we find that the Mughals demanded half of the produce as land revenue[47]. This illegal demand might have been done by Ihtisham Khan, who was an oppressor of peasantry and Zamindars, for which he was replaced by Khan-i-Duran.

The aim of the Mughal ruler was to be 'continually attentive to the health of the body politic' and to remedy its diseases and evils, so as to bring about perfection of life, and assure its happiness, strength and prosperity. The king should accomplish this end by wisely making use of four classes of men into which society can be divided, viz., warriors, merchants and artificers ; the learned men and labourers, by whose exertions and co-operation is ensured the progress and happiness of the 'World', that is, the kingdom.[48] The spirit of the Mughal rule was born of the belief that 'royalty is a light emanating from God'. Hence many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light, of which ; (1) 'a paternal attitude towards the subjects, and (2) 'a large heart' are the two foremost, as enumerated by Abul Fazl.[49] Thus the Mughal Government from the time of Akbar, at any rate was conceived in a spirit of benevolence, and in the attitude of a parent. The king regarded the subjects as his children and hence felt himself responsible for their safety, health, happiness and progress. The assumption was that the sovereign was the best and infallible judge of what was in or against the interests of the people.

In case of Orissa, there are several instances, down from the reign of Akbar till to Aurangzeb that the provincial officers were punished for their oppressive rule against the interests of the people. In order to remove the miseries of the people of

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Orissa, Aurangzeb had abolished the duty on a large number of commodities by a special proclamation.[50] At the end of the sixteenth century, Orissa like many other parts of Eastern India was notorious for the castration of children and their sale as eunuchs by their mercenary parents.[51] In A.D. 1688, Aurangzeb issued a general order forbidding this wicked practice throughout his empire. Even some years earlier he made the Imperial Chancellor, Raja Raghunath Khatri, write to the Governor Khan-i-Duran 'a letter by order', telling him that in Orissa many people used to castrate their sons, that Shuja has forbidden it during his viceroyalty, and the subahdar should put a stop to the practice immediately on the receipt of this imperial order. Khan-i-Duran replied, 'I have made careful enquaries, but found no trace of this practice. They say that it has never done in this province from ancient times to this'.[52] However, this shows the keen interest of the Emperor for the well-being of the Orissan people.

The beginning of Aurangzeb's reign saw the strict restoration of Canon Law Judge (Quazi) and Censor of public Morals (Muhtasib) enjoined by Islamic rule and precedent, in every province and important town. Shaikh Junaid was appointed Muhtasib of Cuttack.[53] 'His duties were to enforce the prophet's laws and put down the practices forbidden by him... The punishment of heretical opinions, blasphemy and omission of prayers and fast by Muslims also lay within the province of this Inquisition'.[54] Under Shaikh Junaid, two Quazis were appointed in Cuttack, one of whom Rahamatullah, was dismissed for misconduct and violation of Canon law. He was succeeded by Sayyid Muhammad Ghans in A.D. 1665, both as Quazi and Mir-i-Adl, on a salary of Rupees four daily.[55]

The Muraqat-i-Hassan also throws light on Aurangzeb's policy of temple destruction. Khan-i-Duran, the governor of Orissa wrote to his agent Muhammad Jan that, 'The destruction of the temple of Kendrapara and the building of a mosque there has greatly pleased me'.[56] The Muraqat also gives the following general order for the destruction of Hindu places of worship: 'To all Faujdars, Thanadars, Mutasaddis, Agents

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of Jagirdars, Kroris, and Amils from Katak to Medinipur on the frontier of Orissa. The Imperial pay-master Asad Khan has sent a letter written by order of the Emperor, to say that the Emperor, learning from the newsletters of the province of Orissa that at the village of Tilkuti in Medinipur a temple has been (newly) built, has issued his august mandate for its destruction and the destruction of all temples built anywhere in this province by the infidels. Therefore, you are commanded with extreme urgency that immediately on receipt of this letter you should destroy the above-mentioned temples. Every idol-house built during the last 10 or 12 years, whether with brick or clay, should be demolished without delay. Also, do not allow the...Hindus and infidels to repair their old temples. Reports of the destruction of temple should be sent to the court under the seal of the Oazis and attested by pious Shaikhs"[87].

Thus for his short-sighted policies, Aurangzeb has earned a very bad name in Orissa and elsewhere. But it is difficult to understand why Aurangzeb gave order only to break the newly built temples of Orissa and did not even touch the famous old temples. Whatever may be the reason, the destruction of temples itself is certainly against the teaching of Islam. There is misconception in certain quarters that Islam justifies the destruction of religious places of the followers of other faiths. This is not in accordance with the Quranic teaching. In fact, in Surah-Al-Hajj, the Quran deplores such acts. In another place the Quran says : "There is no compulsion in faith". The Quran is full with the teaching of this nature. The tragedy of Islam has been that no sooner had the first generation of Muslims, who were closely associated with the prophet Mohammad, passed away, than other influences began to work on the Muslim mind, corrupting the simplicity of the original Quranic apporach. In this, Greek works on philosophy and science as also the Persin literary and historical contacts did great damage. The theologians too began to give a bewildering variety of comments on Quranic texts and even Hadith (Traditions of the prophet) were concocte, religious decrees pro-

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mulgated and fatwas (judgements) given to suit the whims and caprices of a particular Muslim ruler.

The Muslim rulers of India used to make grants of rent-free land to the holy men and scholars of their faith as 'help to subsistence' (Madad-i-Mash). In case of Orissa, several instances of this system are given in the Muraqat-i-Hassan [58] Many such manuscripts of Madat i-Mash are found in different places of Orissa, some of which have been preserved in the Orissa Archives, Bhubaneswar. Besides, 'Sanads' granting of rent-free lands were also issued by the Muslim rulers to the Hindus of Orissa for different purposes. One such Sanad was granted by His Majesty Alamgir II to Brahmin Lachhman Praharaj for his maintenance. Another Sanad was granted by Shah Alam to Mahant Shiba Das as Khairat and for offering 'Bhog' to Thakur (God). Shujauddin Muhammad Khan had granted rent-free land to Chaitanya Das Babaji for his maintanance. There are many such 'Sanads' of which only few have been mentioned above.[59] It is interesting to note that a well had been digged in A.D. 1609 by Muhammad Taqi Bakshi at Vidyadharpur (near Cuttack town), on the side of the old Jagannath road for the use of the pilgrims, who were coming in large numbers to Puri during the 'Ratha Jatra' (Car-festival).[60]

Thus the Muslim period of Orissa history would appear to be one of the most important period. It was a noteworthy characteristic of that age that social, religious and economic institutions of the people were not distinct or isolated from one another, but worked in co-operation to promote the general welfare and happiness of the community. Most of the institutions were ancient and not innovations of the Muslims, having been assimilated by them into their system.

However, the Muslim government was no mean administrative experiment. It was an experiement which has left lasting impression on the subsequent administrative system of Orissa. It was an experiment which both by its policy and its practice, by its achievements as well as failures, has bequeathed to the succeeding generations a valuable political heritage.

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from A.D. 1688 to 1716 (Vide Mohapatra, K., *Khurda Itihasa*, p. 126).

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Chapter Nine

IMPACT OF THE MUSLIM RULE ON ORISSA

The Muslim political contact with Orissa lasted for more than five centuries. For the first three centuries the contact was in the nature of invasions and the last two centuries saw a direct involvement of the Muslim rulers in the politico-administrative affairs of their conquered territory. During the phase of invasions the contact did not lead to any permanent result But during the phase of administration, the contact yielded inevitable consequences.

Towards the end of the twelfth century Muslim rule was established in Bengal and hundred years after that the whole of southern India came under the Muslim authority. But the Muslim rule began in Orissa in the middle of the sixteenth century. Orissa came under Muslim occupation in the era of religious toleration sponsored by Akbar. Thus, in one sense the impact of Islam on Orissa may be said to have been the minimum compared to the other regions of India. But there is another aspect of the picture. From administrative point of view Orissa benefitted from the same land and revenue systems of the Mughal rulers like most other parts of India. From the point of view of Hindu-Muslim cultural assimilation, Orissa equally benefitted from the impact of Islam as any other parts of India. It may be said that though the Muslim population in Orissa is the smallest yet the legacies of the Muslim rule are in no way inconsiderable.

It is interesting to note that long before Akbar contemplated the conquest of Bengal, he sent envoys to Raja Mukunda Deva of Orissa with the ostensible object of cementing an alliance against a common enemy, Sulaiman Karrani of Bengal. In A.D. 1565, Akbar sent Hasan Khan Khajanchi and Bhatta Mahapatra as envoys. This Bhatta Mahapatra was an Oriya musician of the Mughal court. The envoys

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remained in the court of Mukunda Deva for four months and were sent back with costly presents and some elephants. At the same time, Mukunda Deva's ambassador Paramanand accompanied them to the Mughal Court.[1] This shows that before the Mughal occupation, Orissa had cultural link with the Mughal court. Likewise, another Oriya poet Visvanath Samantaraya had also earned fame in Akbar's court. This is known from the second part of an unpublished Sanskrit manuscript known as "Suri Sarvaswam", preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. From this it appears that the poet Visvanath Samantaraya pleased Raja Man Singh, who came to Orissa in A.D. 1593, by his poetic attainments of a high order. While returning from Orissa, Man Singh took the poet with him and introduced him to Padshah, who is described in the sloka as Padshah of Hastinapur or Delhi. This Padshah could be no ther than Akbar, who was a patron of Hindu poets and scholars. He spent a short time in the court of Akbar. In appreciation of his poetic attainments, he got valuable rewards from the emperor. After having earned name and fame in the Mughal court, he returned to Orissa.[2]

It is known that Man Singh returned to Delhi in A.D. 1594 and presented two nobles of Orissa in the Mughal court on 23 February 1594.[3] So Visvanath might have reached Delhi in A.D. 1594. It may be mentioned in this connection that there was a famous Hindu scholar named Visvanath in the court of Akbar. He finds mention in the Ain-i-Akbari.[4] In view of the facts mentioned above, he may be identified with Kavi Chandra Visvanath Samantaraya of Orissa.

From the facts mentioned above, it can be said that Orissa poets and scholars had earned fame in the Mughal court. This cultural exchange helped to a large extent for the growth of Indo-Islamic culture in Orissa. Thus, when the two cultural groups came face to face they could not maintain an attitude of isolation, distrust or indifference. Social and economic forces brought them nearer and closer.

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The Muslim rule came to an end in A.D. 1751. The socio-cultural results of that rule endured through the subsequent Maratha and British periods. It is noteworthy that the British land systems were influenced by the Mughal land systems to a very large extent. The British retained the same zarib, and their revenue officers were known to the common man in the same Persian designations such as, Kanungo, Zamindar, Tahsildar, Moharir etc. These terms prevail even now.

But greater legacies are to be traced in the spheres of language, literature, religion, festivities, customs, manners, food and dress.

With the establishment of Muslim rule in Orissa, Persian became the court language. Even during the Maratha rule (A.D. 1751-1803), Persian continued to be the court language. The Britishers captured Orissa in A.D. 1803. But till A.D. 1823, Persian remained as the official language. The adoption of Persian language by the Muslim rulers of the country as the language of the court necessitated its study by the native population in order to get a footing in the business of the state and other facilities which were open to them. In those days knowledge of Persian was considered as a sign of refinement and culture as English is in modern time. Thus, the study of Persian language became so popular in Orissa that even in the Astrological books the date and time was fixed to begin its study.[5] That the Hindus of Orissa were studying Persian is also known from a manuscript of Persian dictionary[6] written by one Jan Muhammad of Katak Sarkar in A.D. 1750. On the last page of this manuscript it has been written in Persian that the owner of this book is one Jagamohan Deo. From this it is evident that Persian was studied by the enlightened people of Orissa.[7]

Long before the establishment of Muslim rule in Orissa, we get the prove of the impact of Perso-Arabic language on Orissan language and literature. We find the use of many Perso-Arabic words in the inscriptions and literature of the Pre-Muslim period of Orissan history.

In one of the inscriptions of Kapilendra Deva issued in A.D. 1450, he is said to have won a victory over "Malik

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Parisa", which seems to stand for "Malik Padshah", of Perso-Arabic sources.

In one inscription of A.D. 1403 the name of the donor is "Ladau Suratmana". The name Suratmana appears to be the perversion of the word Sultan, a word of Perso-Arabic origin.

In Madla Panji the word Surathana occurs several times with reference to the Muslim ruler of Bengal.[8] In the Sahitya Darpana[9] of Visvanath Kaviraja of Orissa, belonging to the fourteenth century, the word 'Sultan' occurs in a common Sanskritized form "Suratrana".[10]

In another inscription of Purusottam Deva inscribed in A.D. 1485, the word like "Mukabilare", and "tiarh-achu" have been used. These two words are the corrupt version of the Persian word "Muquabila" and Urdu word "Taiyar" respectively. Likewise in another inscription of A.D. 1552, the word "gadajatara rajamane" (the Rajas of the feudatory states of Orissa) has been used. It is noted in Hobson Jobson that the word "Garjat", is a hybrid being the Hindi "garh", or (gada) meaning a fort with the Persian plural suffix "jat", added to it. Really "at" and "zat" are plural suffixes in Arabic borrowed into Persian.[11] In an inscription of A.D. 1549, we find the words "Sarahada" used in the sense of "boundary" and "kamada" used in the sense of price. The first may be identified with "Sarhadd" used in the sense of price. The first may be identified with "Sarhadd" and the second with "Qimat", both are of the Perso-Arabic origin.[12]

Sarala Das, a contemporary of Kapilendra Deva (A.D. 1435-1467) is to have used the word "asabhaba" (thing or commodity) in the first book of his Oriya Mahabharata. The poet Arjuna Das, who is most likely a contemporary either of Purushottam Deva (A.D. 1467-1497) or of Prataprudra Deva (A.D. 1497-1540) or of both, use the words "asbhaba", and "rakama" in the sense of "goods", and "articles" in his epic poem Rama bibaha.[13] Both these words are of Arabic origin.

The few instances cited above from the inscriptions and literary works, indicate the infiltration of words of Perso-Arabic origin into Oriya, even before the establishment of Muslim rule in

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Orissa. With the establishment of Muslim rule, the infiltration of Perso-Arabic words into Oriya became more rampant. In Madla Panji we find many words of Perso-Arabic origin like Nawab, Diwan, Salam, Faraj, Naskar, Suba, Emam, Qilla, Bartan etc. In the poems of the famous Oriya poet Upendra Bhanja (Later part of seventeenth century), we find the use of words like attar, atlash, shikari, atak, kagaz, zari, rumal, kaman which are of Perso-Arabic orgin. Likewise, poets like Brajanath Badajena (A.D. (1730-1795), Abhimanyu Samanta Singhar (A.D. 1757-1806), Baladev Rath (A.D. 1789-1845) have used large number of Perso-Arabic words in their literary works. The literary works like "Satyanarayanapala" and the "Mughal Tamasha" of eighteenth century are the instances of a mixture of Oriya, Bengali, Urdu and Persian languages. The writers of these literary works are Hindus. Hari Ram Jodat of Cuttack was a famous Urdu poet in the Murshidabad court of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan. This shows that in due course of time, Urdu and Persian had become very popular among the Hindus of Orissa. Therefore, the modern writers like Fakir Mohan Senapati, Radha Nath Roy and others have used large number of Perso-Arabic and Urdu words in their literary works. It is needless to give further instances after Radha Nath Roy as by this time the Perso-Arabic and Urdu have become a part of Oriya language. Thus in the vocabulary of Oriya language more than two thousand Persian, Arabic, Turki and Urdu words have found their permanent place.

Muslim impact has also fallen on the grammar and style of Oriya language. In gender, voice, proverb, adjective, exclamatory words, preposition and on the pronunciation of the Oriya language the impact of Muslim language is in no way less. The Muslim impact is also found in the codification style of Oriya language. The language and style in which the Moharirs write court documents, has yet maintained the Muslim impact in clear terms. The Karani style, of writing in Oriya is also due to the Muslim impact.[16]

On the other hand, the Muslim also came in contact with the Oriya language and wrote many literary works in Oriya. The

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earliest example of this is the poet Sal Baig who belongs to the early part of sixteenth century. His devotional or Bhakti poems in Oriya have remained popular through generations.[15] Many Urdu and Persian literary works have been translated into Oriya by Muslim writers. The 'Pandnama' of the Persian poet Shaikh Shadi (A.D. 1194-1282) have been translated into Oriya by Abdul Majid of Balasore district. This was published in A.D. 1869 in the name of "Probodh Kavya". Many examples of this nature are available in Orissa.[16] It is worthy to note that references of Orissa and its presiding deity, the Jagannath are found in the Hindi literary works of the Muslim poets of India. The earliest reference of Orissa is found in the poet Malik Muhammad Jaisi's "Padmavat". Jaisi began his poem in the year of Sher Shah's accession. In imitation of Jaisi's 'Padmavat" Ushman, a poet of Ghazipur wrote his mystic love poem "Chitravali" in the reign of Jahangir. In "Chitravali" there is also reference about Orissa and Jagannath.[17]

In the sphere of religion, the woship of *Satyapir* which has long since dwindled in Bengal, is yet to be seen popular in Orissa. The first direct attempt to unite in common worship of the common folk of the two communities of Bengal, resulted in the rise of the *Satyapir* cult in the sixteenth century during the Hussain Shahi dynasty (A.D. 1494-1538). In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the worship of *Satyapir* began in Orissa, when Shujauddin Muhammad Khan was the Subahdar.[18] The word "*Satyapir*" is a combination of the Sanskrit word "Satya" and Persian word "Pir". For the worship of *Satyapir* many literary works have been produced. They are known as "Pala" in Orissa. Kabi Karna of Medinipur is the writer of the Pala literature who belongs to the eighteenth century. He had written sixteen "Palas" in the mixed language of Bengali, Oriya and Urdu. The Palas are bright examples of Muslim impact on Oriya language and culture. Originally, the *Satyapir* cult was a non-communal affair as a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. Later on, the noble idea behind this common worship was lost when the Muslims in their congregation offered worship in the nature of the *Pir* in their own

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shrines and the Hindus though beginning in the name of *Pir* performed a Brahmanical Puja in which the *Pir* became translated into "*Satya Narayan*".

Another examples of the worship of *Pir* by Hindus of Orissa, we find from one old Palm-leaf manuscript known as "Khuda Prasna" or "Pir-Sahib Prasna"[19] written in Oriya. It is a work like popularly known book "Hanuman Prasna".

It is a fact that may temples of Orissa were broken by the Orders of the Muslim rulers. In spite of this, the two communities of Hindus and Muslims were living side by side in harmony and mutual attachment. A bright example of this we find in the village of Manikagoda of Puri district. People of both the communities live in this village. The Dalbehera[20] of this village is a Muslim and as such is the Marfatdar (custodian) of the Durga worship of the village. On the Dashera day, dressed as a Brahmin, he is being brought in a procession to the Puja-mandap. He would sit on the Puja-mandap and authorise the Brahmin to perform the worship of Durga on his behalf. This is an uniqne example of Hindu-Muslim reconciliation.

Many such examples of Hindu-Muslim reconciliation in the field of religion are found in Orissa. Qadam-i-Rassol[21] of Cuttack is a shrine dear to both Hindus and Muslims alike. It has become a symbol of the impact of Islam on Hinduism and vice-versa. The worship of Qadam-i-Rasool is probably a result of the Hindu influence on the Muslims. Because veneration of the prophet does not find support in orthodox Islam. Originating in Buddhism, this type of fetishism seems to have made its way into Hinduism, Christianity and Islam.[22] Similar is the case with the Bokhari Sahib of Kaipadar in the Puri district. Hazrat Muquadam Jahaniya Janhagast Pir of Astarang in the Puri district is also being worshipped by both the Hindu and Muslims till today. This Jahaniya Pir was a wondering medieval Muslim saint. In the places of his stay, shrines have been established, which are being worshipped by both Hindu and Muslims even now. One such shrine is in the Suhanpur village of Puri district. It is interesting

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to note that the worshipper of this shrine is a Hindu. He does the "Fatiha" which is being taken by both Muslims and Hindus. There is another Pir in Balasore town known as "Asthaana Sharif Hazrat Bhujaakhiapir". The grave of a medieval Muslim saint was enshrined here. According to tradition, this Pir used to sit beneath a tree, where the shrine stands at present. He was very fond of Bhujja (a type of puffed rice) and people used to bring a lot. He always distributed it among the children. Therefore, both Hindus and Muslims make vows for a job, for a child or for anything. When the wish is granted by the Pir, they offer Bhujaa. Apart from other days, every thursday the Bhujaakhiapir or "the puffed-rice-eating-saint", is specially remembered thus by those whose wishes he fulfils Such deep religious harmony so unostentatiously practised are rarely to be found in other parts of India.

Regarding the faith of the Hindus in the Muslim Pirs, we get an interesting instance from the autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati (A.D. 1843-1918), a famous writer of Orissa. The original name of Fakir Mohan was Braja Mohan. His parents had died when he was only a child. Therefore, Braja Mohan was under the care of his grandmother At the age of seven or eight he fell seriously ill and was at the verge of death. His grand-mother was praying all gods and goddesses, begging for the life of her grandson. At last she took shelter near the two Pirs of Balasore for the life of Braja Mohan. She prayed that in case her grandson will be cured by the two Pirs she will convert him as the "Fakir" or servant of the Pirs. In order to please the Pirs she even changed the name of her grandson from Braja Mohan to Fakir Mohan. After this Fakir Mohan was cured and his life was saved. To keep her promise, made before the Pirs, Fakir Mohan was being made a "Fakir" every year for eight days, in the time of Muharram. During these eight days, dressed as a "Fakir", Fakir Mohan used to beg from door to door. In the evening, the sale amount of the begged rice was spent for the "Shirni" (Fatiha) of the two

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Pirs.[23] Thus, this account of Fakir Mohan Senapati's life is a bright example of the Muslim impact.

In the sphere of festivities the Muslim impact is no way less. In the south-eastern region of India, particularly in Orissa, Bengal and Assam, there is long tradition of "Yatra", and "Tamasha" which are like opera, staged on open-air theatre. In the opinion of some scholars, the growth and development of the "Yatra" in Orissa occurred during the Muslim rule. Therefore, the shadow of Muslim impact has fallen on it.[24] Till to the early part of the twentieth century, in the beginning of the opera, an interesting scene was being presented. An actor, dressed as a Muslim ruler was coming to the stage to give the order to start the opera. From this it is evident, that the "Yatra", in Orissa is the result of the Muslim impact.[25] Among the operas prevalent in Orissa, the most famous are the "Palas" and the "Tamashas". The details about the "Pala" have already been discussed in the earlier pages of this Chapter. The "Tamashas" are yet popular in the Bhadrak area of Orissa. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the "Tamashas" had been written by the poet Banshiballav Goswami. Though Orissa was then ruled by the Marhattas, the importance of the Perso-Arabic and Urdu language had not dwindled and in the social life the impact of the Islamic culture was prevalent. Therefore, poet Banshiballav had written the "Tamashas" in a mixed language of Persian, Urdu, Bengali and Oriya. The subject matters of the "Tamashas" relate mainly to the Muslim character and way of life. Among the "Tamashas" the most popular one is the "Mughal Tamasha". Both Hindus and Muslims take part in the staging of the "Tamashas". The common people of both the unities witness and enjoy the "Tamasha".[26] This shows the popularity of the Muslim language among the common people.

Thus in the sphere of festivities, the "Pala", "Tamasha" and "Yatra", are unique examples of Muslim impact and Hindu-Muslim unity. Muslims of the rural areas, have adopted many Hindu religious practices. It is a common sight to

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see both Hindus and Muslims participating in each others festivals like Dashera and Muharram.

In custom, manner, dress and food, the Muslim impact has also left its permanent mark. Dresses like jama, paijama, rumal, shawl, takia etc. are of Muslim origin. The dresses used in the "Pala" and "Tamasha" are also of the Muslim style. Foods like, halua, jalebi, chapati, palau, biriani and other meat preparations are also Muslim legacies. Fruits like, Kismis, Pesta, Badam, Angur, Anar etc. were brought to Orissa by the Muslims. Ornaments like Bajubandh, Paunj etc. are of the same origin. The use of paper, pen, scent, etc. was also introduced by the Muslims in Orissa. Many places of Orissa had been named by the Muslims in their own way, which are yet in use as the silent witness to the permanent legacies of the Muslim rule. To cite few examples, the names like Rasulpur, Rasulgarh, Rasulkonda may be mentioned. The different places of Cuttack city namely Shaikh Bazar, Mohammadiya Bazar, Quazi Bazar, Dewan Bazar. Mehndipir etc. are also of the Muslim origin.

On the other hand, the Muslims in due course of time have also adopted many Hindu customs manners and beliefs. The efficacy of exercism, doctoring, healing, by distribution of Tawidh (charms or amulets) evil eye, belief in omen etc. has passed from Hinduism to Islam through the Sufis.[97] Many of the Muhammadans believed in the principles of Hindu astrology and were as particular in observing them as the Hindus. Muslims in the rural areas are even now preparing horoscope of the child, soon after its birth. The anniversary of the death observed by the Muslims is a custom borrowed from the Hindus. Thus living together side by side for centuries, the Hindu and Muslim communities imbibed some of each other's ideas and customs on a permanent basis. Whenever two types of civilisations and culture come into contact with each other, it is quite natural that one would exercise its influence on the other. The process of assimilation and interchange of customs and thought drew the two communities closer. As a result of

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this, in due course of time, in most of the rural parts of Orissa, the Muslims have forgotten their own Islamic culture and tradition. They speak Oriya and have adopted the Hindu customs, traditions and way of life. As a consequence, in the field of ordinary life, the two communities are living side by side in harmony and mutual attachment.

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appointed Muslims to this post, perhaps due to their expert knowledge of artillery. Therefore, in almost every feudatory state of Orissa, Muslim Dalbeheras are found. The Dalbehera was also the village headman and enjoyed respectable position in the king's court.

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CONCLUSION

Though the Muslim rule in Orissa lasted from A.D. 1568 to 1751, yet the whole of Orissa was hardly brought under complete Muslim subjugation. From A.D. 1568 to 1575, the Afghans were in possession of Cuttack and they settled on the border districts to the north of river Mahanadi. Under Akbar the Mughals established their authority only on the northern portion of Orissa while the central portion was ruled by the native princes who enjoyed semi-independent status. Some of them only were given title 'Mansabdars' with ranks in the Mughal peerage. The rest were regarded as 'Zamindars'. From Golkonda in the south, the Qutb Shahis held sway over the southern extremity of the province as far northwards as the lake Chilika. During the reign of Shah Jahan, the power of the Golkonda rulers was broken by the Mughals and Qutb Shah became a loyal feudatory chief of the Mughal Emperor, paying him an annual tribute. Early in Aurangzeb's reign, Malud was the southern most out-post of the Mughal Orissa, and beyond it lay the Qutb-Shahi district of Chicacole, from which the Golkonda tribute the about Rs. 20,000 was sent to the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa. In western Orissa, Sambalpur and its principalities were at no time under the Mughal authority. Thus, politically, the whole of Orissa was never brought under the Muslim rule. On the other hand, arising out of the administrative policies of the Mughal Government, Orissa lost some of its original territories for ever. During the Subahdarship of Murshid Quli Khan I (A.D. 1703 to 1706), a large portion of the Medinipur district which was formerly under the Jaleswar Sarkar of Orissa, was transferred to Bengal subah. During the time of Muhammad Taqi Khan (A.D. 1727 to 1734), the rest of the Medinipur district was transferred to Bengal and river Subarnarekha became the northern boundary of the Mughal Orissa. Thus Orissa suffered a permanent

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loss of some of its northern territories. Similarly, though the Ain-i-Akbari mentioned of five sarkars within the territorial limits of the Mughal Orissa, in fact, two of those Sarkars, namely, Rajmahendry and Kalinga Dandapat, were allowed to pass under the direct control of the Qutb-Shahi rulers; leading thus to a permanent loss of territories to Orissa in the south.

In spite of the fact that the Muslim rule lasted over Orissa for two centuries, the Muslims were never able to consolidate their position in this distant eastern province. The semi-independent princes of Orissa revolted against the Mughal Government whenever they got opportunity. For example, taking advantage of the War of Succession of 1657-58, the Orissa princes felt bold enough to try to extinguish the Mughal rule altogether. When Khan-i-Duran took over the Subahdarship of Orissa in A.D. 1650, the kings of Mayurbhanj, Khurda, Keonjhar, Khalikot and Kanika were in open revolt against the Mughal authority. Therefore, the first part of Khan-i-Duran's regime was devoted to a task that was practically equivalent to the reconquest of Orissa. Instances of this type were common throughout the Mughal rule. The rebellious activities of the kings of Khurda constituted the main obstacle to the consolidation of the Mughal authority in Orissa. Those kings, more or less, championed the struggle of the Orissan people against the Muslims whom they considered as intruders. This is the reason why every new subahdar of Orissa had to invade the territory of the Khurda king in order to subdue him.

From an administrative point of view, Orissa enjoyed the same benevolent policy of Akbar which he applied towards Hindu princes of India in general. Akbar's prime object was to make the whole country acknowledge his suzerainty and to bring it under a single political banner. It was no part of his design to completely wipe out the states and principalities which existed at that time. He recognised the inevitable necessity of leaving the numerous chiefs in virtual enjoyment of their internal authority over their respective territories. In case

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of Orissa, that policy proved highly successful so far as the Emperor's general authority over inaccessible and wild territories was concerned. The Orissa chiefs remained autonomous under the Mughal's supremacy. An interesting case as to how the privileges and self-respect of these chiefs were protected by the Emperor is mentioned by Abul Fazl. This relates to the Khurda King of Orissa. In A.D. 1595, when Raja Man Singh invaded Orissa, he summoned Raja Ramachandra Deva I of Khurda to attend on him. Ramachandra Deva protested against such demand on the ground that it was beyond the authority of a Viceroy to summon a King. In retaliation Man Singh sent an expedition against the Raja and the Mughal forces occupied several fortresses in Khurda. For that impolitic zeal of the Viceroy to dispossess the King, he received a censure from the Emperor. 'On hearing this', says Abul Fazl, 'His Majesty who appreciates dignities became angry and censured Man Singh for this act of superciliousness'. Man Singh recalled his troops and apologised. Impressed with the graciousness of the Emperor, Ramachandra Deva on his own accord came and attended on Man Singh and was received with due honour. Thus a considerable part of the Mughal dominions remained under the rule of their hereditary chiefs and was never directly administered by the Imperial Government. Some of the Orissa chiefs enjoyed quasi-independent status and others remained as feudatory.

In the field of revenue administration, instead of following general practices, the Mughals permitted interesting deviation. For example, from the letters of Abdul Hassan who was the Secretary to the Subahdars of Orissa (A.D. 1655-1670), we find that the Mughals demanded half of the produce as land revenue, The Ain-i-Akbari laid down 'one-third' of the produce of the land as the share of the state. That was the practice all over Mughal India. But the Muraqat-i-Hassan from Orissa tell us that 'a half' was claimed and collected by the state.

Aurangzeb is generlly regarded as the most cruel among the Mughal Emperors. The Muraqat-i-Hassan also throws light on Aurangzeb's policy of temple destruction in Orissa. But it is interesting to note during the reign of Aurangzeb, it was reported

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to him by Khan-i-Duran, the Mughal subahdar of Orissa, that due to the oppression of the Diwan, the condition of the people had worsened to a large extent. Aurangzeb was pertubed to hear the miseries of the people and immediately appointed a new Diwan and issued a proclamation abolishing the duties on a large number of articles for the good of his subjects. This instance shows that the Mughal Emperors were aware of the miseries of the people and showed kind consideration in matters of revenue collection and fiscal policies.

There was very little difference between the administrative and revenue systems of the Muslim Orissa, in comparison to the old indigenous system prevalent in Orissa. The revenue settlement and land systems which were introduced by Raja Todar Mal in Orissa were in the pattern of the old existing systems. Only for administrative suitability old Sanskrit and Oriya designations were changed into Persian terminology.

In spite of the occasional misgovernment, oppression and disorder, the economic condition of Orissa during this period was not bad. Particularly in the sphere of oversea trade and commerce, Orissa had prospered to a large extent during the Muslim rule. Orissa became famous for its industrial products and finished goods which attracted the attention of the English, French, Dutch, Danes and Portuguese traders. These European traders had established their trade centres and factories in the coastal districts of Orissa. In the seventeenth century, Pipli, Cuttack and Balasore were the main gateways of Orissa's maritime trade. Among the ports of Orissa, Balasore had acquired considerable fame and importance as the centre of ship-building, a reference to which we get from a letter of Khan-i-Duran, the Mughal subahdar of Orissa.

The Muslim political contact with Orissa lasted for more than five centuries. For the first three centuries the contact was in the nature of invasions and the last two centuries saw a direct involvement of the Muslim rulers in the politico-administrative affairs of their conquered territory. During the phase of invisions the contact did not lead to any permanent result. during the phase of administration, the contact yielded inevitable

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consequences. It may be mentioned here that Orissa is conspicuous for the small percentage of the Muslim population within its territories. This can be accounted to the fact that the conquest of Orissa took at a time when the zeal to covert the non-Mulims to Islam was almost at its lowest ebb. Orissa came under Muslim occupation in the era of religious toleration sponsored by Akbar. It is noteworthy that long before Akbar contemplated the conquest of Bengal, he sent envoys to Raja Mukunda Deva of Orissa with the apparent object of cementing an alliance. Later on, relations changed no doubt, but this shows the significance of Orissa among the numerous kingdoms of India. Thus in one sense, the impact of Islam on Orissa may be said to have been the minimum compared to the other regions of India. But there is another aspect of the picture. From the point of view of Hindu-Muslim cultural assimilation, Orissa equally benefitted from the impact of Islam as any other part of India. It may be said that though the Muslim population in Orissa is the smallest, yet the legacies of the Muslim rule are in no way inconsiderable. These legacies are to be traced in the spheres of language, literature, religion, festivities, customs and manners. In referring to some such results the following may be mentioned.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are very significant for the growth of Oriya language and literature. In the vocabulary of Oriya language more than 2,000 Persian, Arabic, Turki and Urdu words have found their permanent place. Sal Baig, though a Muslim, was great devotee of Lord Jagannath and his devotional poems in Oriya have remained popular through generations.

In the sphere of religion the cult of *Satyapir*, which has long since dwindled in Bengal, is yet to be seen popular in Orissa. Even to-day the Qadam-i-Rasul is a shrine dear to Hindus and Muslims alike. It has become a symbol of the impact of Islam on Hinduism and vice versa. Similar is the case with the Bokhari Sahib of Kaipadar and other Muslim shrines scattered all over Orissa.

In the sphere of festivities, Mughal Tamasa is yet popular in

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the Bhadrak area of Orissa. It is a common sight to seen both Hindus and Muslims participating in each other's festivals.

Thus living together side by side for centuries, the Hindu and Muhammadan communities imbibed some of each other's ideas and customs on a permanent basis. The Muslims, in due course of time, have allowed themselves to merge in the main stream of the Oriya life. In the urban area, they speak in Urdu. But the bulk of the Muslim population who remain in rural areas of Orissa, speak only Oriya. They have also adopted the Hindu customs, traditions and ways of life. In consequence, the two communities have been living side by side in harmony and mutual attachment even since the days of the Muslim rule.

In the broader context of Indian socio-religious history, Orissa presents almost a unique picture of Hindu-Muslim unity. In the dark days of the communal strife which marked the last phase of the British rule, Orissa was signed out as the only region in India without bloodshed and riot. That may be regarded as the most reliable legacy of the Hindu-Muslim relations of the medieval Orissa.

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